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The structure of ambivalence toward women – Legitimization of gender discrimination and prospects for change

[Struktura ambiwalencji postaw wobec kobiet - Legitymizacja dyskryminacji płciowej i możliwości zmiany]

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Abstract

One way in which sexism is distinct from other types of prejudice is its ambivalent nature. Women are both reviled and revered, depending on whether they fulfill or violate expectations concerning their gender roles. Basing on Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1995, 1996, 2001), the following thesis explores dimensions that are not subsumed under AST that I consider critical to the perception of women. Specifically, based on data coming from qualitative and quantitative studies conducted in Poland and in the United States, I distinguish two additional springboards for sexism: 1. the belief that the fundamental role of a woman is that of the mother (together with the assumption that women's goals should be subsumed under others' goals and needs), and 2. the responsibility for aesthetics that is placed upon women. Subsequently, discriminant and predictive validity of the new dimensions is tested showing that these basic tenets form a richer structure of prejudice not encompassed by the existing sub-dimensions of AST. Theoretical implications of the findings and the universality of new dimensions are discussed.

Keywords: ambivalent sexism, aesthetic beliefs, motherhood beliefs, social change

Streszczenie

Postawy seksistowskie wyróżnia spośród innych form uprzedzeń ich ambiwalentny charakter. Kobiety otacza się rewerencją lub potępia, w zależności od tego, czy wpisują się w oczekiwania dotyczące ról płciowych, czy je naruszają. W oparciu o Teorię Ambiwalentnego Seksizmu (*ang. Ambivalent Sexism Theory, AST;* Glick & Fiske, 1995, 1996, 2001), poniższa praca zgłębia ambiwalentne przekonania, które nie zostały ujęte w AST, a które są istotne dla postrzegania kobiet. W oparciu o dane z badań jakościowych i ilościowych przeprowadzonych w Polsce i Stanach Zjednoczonych, wyróżniono dwa dodatkowe źródła seksizmu: 1. Przekonanie, że fundamentalną rolą kobiety jest rola matki (połączona z założeniem, że kobiety powinny podporządkowywać własne cele, celom i potrzebom innych), oraz 2. Obowiązek zadbanego wyglądu, który spoczywa na kobietach. Dalsze badania sprawdzające trafność dyskryminacyjną i predykcyjną nowych wymiarów pokazują, że wpisują się one w strukturę uprzedzeń zaproponowaną w AST, jednocześnie ją wzbogacając. W dyskusji odnoszę się do teoretycznych i praktycznych implikacji uzyskanych wyników oraz uniwersalności nowo zdefiniowanych wymiarów seksizmu.

Słowa kluczowe: seksizm ambiwalentny, przekonania na temat estetyki, przekonania na temat macierzyństwa, zmiana społeczna

Table of Contents

Introduction

The psychology of intergroup relations has traditionally focused on negative and hostile forms of prejudice (e.g. Allport, 1954). Modern approaches to prejudice, however, focus both on negative as well as on subjectively positive forms (e.g. Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 2001). Accordingly, within the context of gender, the focus has shifted from clearly overt, hostile forms of sexism to more subtle, covert, and ambivalent forms.

Negative attitudes toward women are frequently interspersed with positive ones (Eagly & Mladinic, 1994), and discrimination is often sugar-coated under the guise of concern for women as the "weaker" sex (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). Studies show that women are either revered or reviled, depending on whether they fulfill or violate expectations concerning their gender roles (Gaunt, 2013; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). To describe this ambivalence, Glick and Fiske (1996) distinguished between two forms of sexism: hostile and benevolent. Hostile sexism taps into traditional conceptualizations of prejudice. Benevolent sexism taps into positive beliefs about women, which inadvertently cement the inferior role of women in society and sustain stereotypical images of certain types of women.

Ambivalent Sexism Theory (AST; Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001, 2011) describes the underlying ideologies, and the varied consequences of such ambivalent attitudes. The aim of the current doctoral project is to extend the theoretical framework of AST by incorporating new dimensions that correspond to lenses through which women are perceived. These lenses create expectations, which, if violated, lead to hostility. If met, they circumscribe women's opportunities for personal and professional growth and achievement.

Because gender-based expectations spring from social, cultural, and historical norms, AST, developed on relatively homogenous samples (Glick & Fiske, 1996), might not encompass some important aspects of sexism in groups with different economic, cultural and

historical backgrounds. Though the underlying ideologies behind the existing dimensions appear to be universal (Glick et al., 2000), they are likely not exhaustive, and their manifestations might not be identical everywhere.

Based on AST and drawing from various theoretical concepts focusing on social expectations regarding women (e.g., the motherhood mandate, Russo, 1976; marianismo, Mealy, Stephan, & Abalakina-Paap, 2006; the beauty myth, Wolf, 1991; beauty as status, Webster & Driskell, 1983), the project integrates theoretical inputs from social and cross-cultural psychology, history, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. Incorporating this knowledge into the theory proposed by Glick and Fiske, I propose an extended concept of ambivalent sexism. The two new aspects of ambivalent sexism distinguished in the project focus on: 1. the importance of motherhood in women's lives: the belief that the fundamental role of a woman is that of a mother, and that she should prioritize the needs and goals of the others, and 2. the importance of appearance for women: the belief that being attractive and well-groomed is the essence of femininity. As I argue throughout the thesis, by incorporating these two aspects into the ambivalent sexism framework, I provide a more comprehensive structure of ambivalence of attitudes toward women, which allows for a deeper analysis and understanding of subtle forms of gender discrimination.

The proposed dimensions of sexism are of special importance in the Polish context due to historical conditions: romantic models, 19th century patriotic sentiments, Catholic Church teachings, and the sociocultural inheritance of real-socialism (e.g. Boski, 2006; Fidelis, 2004, 2010; Graff, 2000; Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012; Janion, 1996, 2006; Walczewska, 1999). But, as I argue below (and demonstrate empirically in the US context), the newly proposed dimensions are also important in other cultural contexts.

The aims of the project were threefold: 1. to expand upon AST by defining new dimensions of sexism, and construct and validate a research tool measuring them; 2. to

examine mechanisms through which the newly identified dimensions of sexism contribute to discrimination of women and maintenance of gender inequality; 3. to examine the prospects for social change in gender relations, based on the newly identified dimensions.

The thesis is structured as follows: as a first step, I provide an overview of prior research on ambivalent sexism, followed by critiques of the existing theory and shortcomings of the tool assessing ambivalent sexist attitudes. Next, I introduce the theoretical concepts that expand upon the original theory and are aimed at addressing some of the shortcomings of the existing tool. Further, I verify the validity of the proposed concept and the new tool assessing the extended concept of ambivalent sexism. In consecutive studies, I provide evidence for the predictive validity of the newly proposed dimensions across various social domains, and in two cultural contexts. Finally, I discuss the obtained results, their limitations, and avenues for future research.

I believe that results of the studies presented in this thesis, and the tool it provides, can be used to diagnose gender prejudice. My hope is that they will be applied to design educational and legislative programs aimed at reducing gender inequalities in the future.

Chapter I

Ambivalent Sexism Theory and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Pervasiveness and Subtlety of Sexism

Sexist beliefs can be defined as any "beliefs that maintain or promote inequality between women and men" (Swim, Becker, Lee, & Pruitt, 2009, p. 137). Such beliefs are not by definition negative, though their consequences are (e.g., Cikara, Lee, Fiske, & Glick, 2009). Gender inequality, a hierarchy in which men generally have more power than do women (United Nations Development Programme, 2009), is bolstered by sexist beliefs. In an analysis covering 57 countries, Brandt (2011) showed not only that sexism is more present in countries with greater gender disparities, but also that it reinforces gender hierarchy over time.

The manifestations of sexism are multifold. They range from overt, clear demonstrations of hostility – such as disparagement of women in leadership positions (e.g., Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012) – to much subtler, unconscious expressions of assumptions regarding gender predispositions and roles, such as "protecting" a girlfriend from engaging in professional activities that involve an element of danger (Moya, Glick, Expósito, de Lemus & Hart, 2007). Traditional beliefs about gender roles and sexist attitudes undoubtedly affect expressions of sexism (e.g., Diehl, Rees, & Bohner, 2012; Siebler, Sabelus, & Bohner, 2008, Study 2). However, differences between cultures, between social contexts, or over time will also to some extent determine how sexism is expressed. Sexism that would be easily expressed in one context will be masked in other contexts, where it might lead to repercussions. For example, a woman is more likely to be the target of derogatory comments about her looks from a stranger on the street than in her office, where a sexual harassment policy is enforced (Ayres, Friedman, & Leaper, 2009; Fairchild & Rudman, 2008). Acknowledging that social conditions affect how sexism can be observed

and defined, researchers have attempted to identify underlying ideologies that undergird its more or less obvious, and more or less conscious, manifestations (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly 1995).

Ambivalent Sexism Theory and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

The emphasis on women being "wonderful" (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989, 1994), seen in many cultures, underscores that sexism cannot be measured with single-dimension tools that focus only on negative attitudes. AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001) addresses this complexity by postulating that even some positive attitudes toward women promote gender inequality by defining acceptable behavior in quite narrow terms. Insofar as women are seen through the lens of traditional homemaker, wife, or young innocent, their activities outside of these roles are seen as transgressions, and will elicit hostility. Ambivalence toward women stems from the inevitable interdependence between the genders, which, according to the theory's authors, is most prominently expressed in paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexual relationships. Depending on whether the interdependence is turned into competition or cooperation, it generates hostility (hostile sexism, HS) or benevolence (benevolent sexism, BS), respectively. Male power might take the form of domination or protective paternalism; distinct gender traits and roles might be attributed as either competitive or complimentary; and heterosexual relations might be either adversarial or intimate. Either aspect of the sexist belief system—positive or negative—can be activated in a given moment (Glick et al., 1997; Sibley & Wilson, 2004). Women who adhere to traditional gender roles, such as stay-at-home mothers, or demure young women, will tend to trigger a benevolent response. Women who veer away from social norms, such as lesbians or high-powered politicians, are more likely to trigger hostility (Becker, 2010). Those whose identities do not unambiguously match or mismatch the stereotype, such as working mothers, might evoke ambivalent responses, or responses that align with the aspect of the woman that

is currently most salient: a working mother might prompt benevolence on a playground and hostility at a board meeting, for instance.

The appealing aspect of BS is that it can be subjectively experienced as positive, by both the perpetrator and the target. Its romantic tone does not fit into lay definitions of sexism, which sound harsh, intentional, and purely negative. Still, subjectively positive attitudes might lead to outcomes that are not in truth beneficial. The detrimental impact of BS, both in the public and in the private domains, is well documented. Multiple studies indicate that it increases women's self-objectification (Calogero & Jost, 2011), changes self-presentation to a more traditional one (Barreto, Ellemers, Piebinga, & Moya, 2010), hinders cognitive functioning (Dardenne, Dumont, & Bollier, 2007; Dumont, Sarlet, & Dardenne, 2010), lowers performance expectations (Gervais & Vescio, 2012), and minimizes motivation to act for social change (Becker & Wright, 2011; Ellemers & Barreto, 2009), cementing gender hierarchies at home that then translate into the public sphere (Cikara et al., 2009). This positive counterbalance to negative stereotypes creates the possibility of a stable social order—the low-status group is "appreciated" for its unique characteristics (Jost & Kay, 2005), minimizing motivation to act for social change (Becker & Wright, 2011).

AST claims to identify universal dimensions grounded in a theory of gender relations and there is evidence for its universality. The most comprehensive comparison so far included data from roughly 15,000 participants in 19 countries (Glick et al., 2000). Results showed that the BS-HS distinction was observed in all countries analyzed. Moreover, these two forms of sexism were correlated positively in most of the studied countries (.80 to .90 at the societal level).

Critique of the ASI and the AST

Ambivalent sexism is measured with the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996), a 22-item scale that includes 11 items measuring HS (e.g., "When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against"), and 11 measuring BS. Of the BS items, 4 items tap into the protective paternalism (PP) dimension (e.g., "A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man"), 3 into the complementary gender differentiation (CGD) dimension (e.g., "Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste"), and 4 into the heterosexual intimacy (HI) dimension (e.g., "Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores"). Figure 1 presents the structure of sexism proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996).

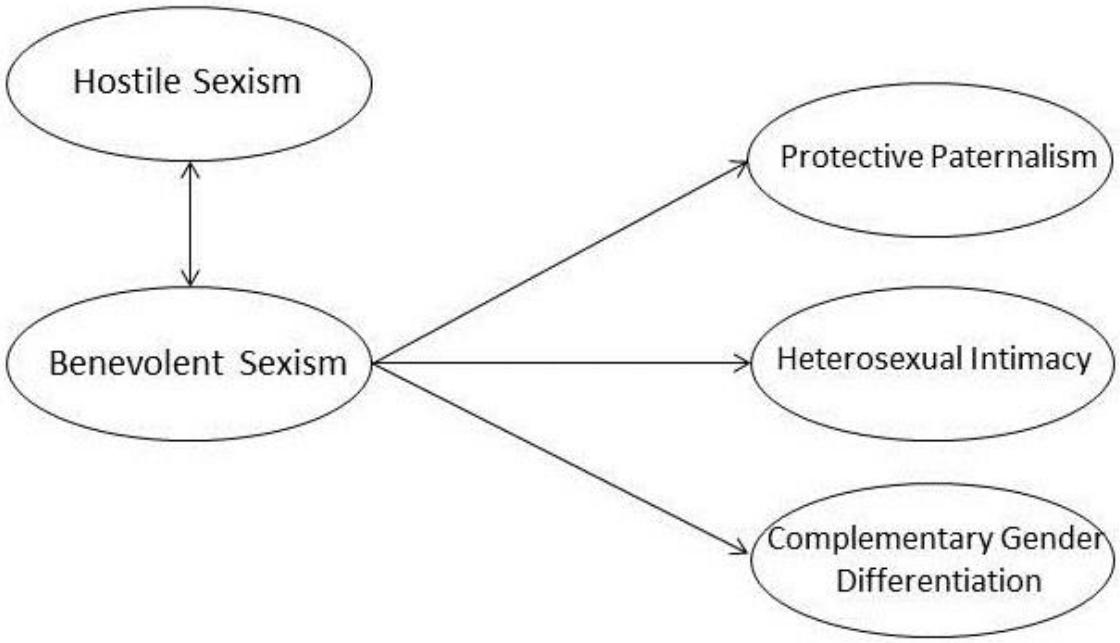

Figure 1. Model of sexism proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996).

Although the distinction into hostile and benevolent attitudes has been observed in samples from countries characterized by different gender relations (Glick et al., 2000), various scholars have criticized AST as culture-specific (Gibbons, Hamby, & Dennis, 1997;

Hayes & Swim, 2013; McHugh & Frieze, 1997). The development of the scale used to measure it, the ASI, was conducted mainly on white middle-class US student samples (4 out of 6 samples used for scale development—roughly 90% of all participants—were student samples; Glick & Fiske, 1996). This casts some doubts on the adequacy of the content of its dimensions: such circumscribed samples might not reflect sexism as it is observed in the whole of society. Even within cultures, evidence shows that education level correlates negatively with both hostile and benevolent attitudes, and age positively correlates with BS (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Glick, Lameiras, & Castro, 2002). Such differences – both in the level of endorsement of sexism as in the content of sexist attitudes – could be even greater between cultures.

According to McHugh and Frieze (1997), gender role attitude scales always measure gender ideologies in a specific socio-historical context. In their critique, they acknowledge that the ideologies underlying AST might be emic to a great extent, but they are dubious of the way the dimensions are operationalized in the ASI. The authors illustrate their point by referring to items concerning feminists (e.g., "Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men"), which implicitly assume the existence of feminist movements worldwide. This assumption can easily be contested—as McHugh and Frieze assert, while feminists likely exist everywhere, they are not likely to be perceived the same way everywhere, nor are they likely to be making similar demands worldwide, because the status of women is very different in different countries.

Gibbons and colleagues (1997) go further with their critique, noting that scales developed in one context and merely translated into other languages base on the assumption that the constructs they tap into are equivalent in all cultures. Their critique of AST concerns the universality of gender differentiation: although the concept itself might be considered etic, its content might vary between cultures. To support this claim, they refer to China

where, unlike in the United States, it is an ideal man, not woman, who is considered superior in knowledge of arts and culture (Chia, Allred, & Jerzak, 1997). In the Yiddish culture (unlike in the United States where the man is assigned to the public and the woman to the private domain), the man functions within the religious domain, complementing the woman who is responsible for the secular domain (Gajewska & Lisek, 2012). Because of differences in the content of the constructs, as the authors conclude, people may respond to ASI items without finding them relevant or meaningful in their lives.

A study on four US ethnic groups (African-, Asian-, Latina/o- and European-American; Hayes & Swim, 2013) calls into question the universality of the AST dimensions even within the United States. Specifically, concerns arose with regard to overall model fit: although two-factor models had a better fit than did a one-factor model, model fit indices were below the typical cutoff values, even though the sample used in the study was similar to those in original validation studies for the ASI. Moreover, differences were observed in group means on the BS subscale (such that all ethnic minority groups scored higher than the European-American group), and in the reliability of the BS subscale in two groups (the Latina/o, $\alpha = .62$; and the African-American, $\alpha = .67$).

As Hayes and Swim (2013) conclude, although the differences in BS scores observed in their study can be explained by previous research showing more traditional gender roles among racial minority groups than among European Americans (Anderson & Johnson, 2003; Kane, 2000), the low reliability of the BS scale suggests that ASI may not be an adequate tool for measuring sexism even in different sub-populations within the United States. The cross-country comparison by Glick and collaborators (2000) reports similar discrepancies. Although the overall model fit in each of the studied countries was satisfactory, reliabilities for the BS scale ranged from .53 to. 84; thus, the internal consistency was not always satisfactory.

It is worth noticing that neither Hayes and Swim (2013) nor Glick and collaborators (2000) report or discuss this issue with reference to specific sub-dimensions of ASI. It is possible that, as Gibbons and colleagues (1997) note, "traditional" role differences are expressed divergently in different groups, or on only one or two of these sub-dimensions. Given these findings, it is also worth considering whether sexism could and should be assessed with regard to underlying ideologies beyond those measured by the ASI.

I explore these conjectures in detail below. First, using the Polish context as an example, I consider which dimensions of sexism might be expressed differently in various contexts due to historical and cultural factors that determine present-day gender relations. Next, I propose two new dimensions for ambivalent sexism and provide evidence supporting their conceptual and empirical validity.

The Polish Context. Cultural and Historical Background of Gender Relations

Various scholars (e.g. Boski, 2006; Fidelis, 2004, 2010; Graff, 2000; Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012; Janion, 1996, 2006; Walczewska, 1999) have proposed that gender attitudes in Poland have been influenced by a unique blend of factors: romantic models, 19th century patriotic sentiments, Catholic Church teachings, the sociocultural inheritance of the real-socialism, and the rapid system transition of the late 20th century. Here I discuss how these elements in Poland's history might drive gender relations and attitudes toward women in Poland today, and how they might be relevant to the maintenance of gender inequalities.

Romantic models and the 19th century patriotic sentiments. Poland's historical narrative has been defined by periods of nationhood interspersed with long periods of Partitions. There is still a strong sense of a heroic past in Poland due to a continued, centuries-long struggle for sovereignty (Boski, 2006). In the 16th century, Poland was an empire, and gender relations at the time consisted of the "nobility's gender contract"

(Walczewska, 1999), according to which men-knights protected women-damsels from the brutalities of the world outside the home (cf. protective paternalism in AST). Men benevolently wielded power while women maintained delicacy, purity, and beauty. Chivalrous behavior allowed men, no matter what their socio-economic status, to attain a shimmer of prestige, of nobility. This contract, between men and women, through which romantic gestures served as indicators of value, continued to serve everyone well throughout Polish history to times of communism. During that period, status could not be attained through means of higher salary or more prestigious jobs. Therefore, symbolic gestures—opening doors for women, celebrating women's day—provided an opportunity for men to assert their status.

Men's chivalry was, however, contingent on women being "ladies". This included an emphasis on appealing to men, through appearance and through behavior (Hoffmanowa, 1876, cited by Walczewska, 1999). In the 19th century, constraints were imposed on the female body through new fashions underlining "femininity"—decency, modesty, grace—and de-emphasizing earthier, corporeal aspects such as reproductive functions and sexuality. Women were superficially deprived of sexuality, or judged harshly for expressing it. The form, rather than the function, became central. Their bodies became canvases upon which men drew their dreams, rather than instruments of women's own goal pursuit and fulfillment. A focus on fineries was also an indicator of wealth—so a woman's appearance could become a signal of her husband's or father's status. The ornamental function of the female form persists today, as is readily seen in advertisements and art.

The Partitions allowed another key aspect of Polish womanhood to emerge. During these periods, motherhood was seen as the manifestation of female citizenship: the Polish mother-patriot bore and reared future generations who would fight for and populate a new Poland (Budrowska, 2000). In this way, the national discourse concerning gender roles

placed women in traditional roles as "Mother-Poles", even though their social roles in this era encompassed far more than simple home-making (Graff, 2010). Thus, a key trait of the Polish society in the post-partition period was the permeability of the public and the private domain. Motherhood was politicized to the extent that women were responsible for bringing up new Polish citizens – passing on customs and traditions and mother tongue in order to preserve the continuity of national identity. In this respect, the private became public: women had an impact on the public domain without "breaking the gender contract" (Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011).

These women were not passive and could not be seen as such. As many men were decimated in the course of consecutive uprisings or exiled to Siberia, women were forced to fend for themselves, taking over responsibilities typically ascribed to men. Thus, the notion of the Mother-Pole was not restricted to motherhood -- women "fought at home" to the same extent as men fought on battlefields. They were fierce, heroic, and stoic. At the same time, their roles were clearly presented as supporting. Women were asked to sacrifice personal goals and happiness for a greater good: the very existence of the Polish nation (Titkow, 2007). This false trade-off has been used as an argument against a focus on women's rights in recent times as well (Walczewska, 1999).

The Catholic Church. As a dominant cultural institution (Public Opinion Research Center, 2013), the Catholic Church is a shaper of gender attitudes in Poland (Boski, 2006; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2011): although religiosity varies between rural areas and cities, still 70% and 55% of these populations, respectively, consider themselves religious (Public Opinion Research Center, 2014). The Catholic religion focuses on women's role as mothers (Janion, 1996, 2006). John Paul II, "the Polish Pope", emphasized the unique role of women in society, the female vocations of motherhood and homemaking (1988, 1995). According to these teachings, women play a vital role in society

as faithful and fecund wives, whose identities revolve around their family and whose needs are the needs of their families. This idea is epitomized by the Marian devotions (Adamiak, 1997). This set of practices underlines the role of Mary as mother of Christ (Bierca, 2006; Świstow, 2006), the ideal and archetype of womanhood and of motherly love (Adamiak, 1999; John Paul II, 1995). The empowering aspect of womanhood – the creation of life – is made salient (Adamiak, 1997; Świstow, 2006), while at the same time it is clear that a woman prioritizes her family above herself, and if she has no family, is inevitably unfulfilled. Due to the overwhelming presence of the Catholic Church in Polish public discourse, these assumptions have seeped into popular culture (Łaciak, 2012), even among non-Catholics.

Communism and system transition. While in the 1950's the United States saw a return to domesticity for women (Friedan, 1963) after a period of active participation in the labor force through the war years, Polish women were immediately engaged in paid employment after the war. The pressures that led to women's isolation as homemakers in the United States (Friedan, 1963), to free up space on the job market for men returning from war, were not observed in Poland, due to a labor policy of 100% employment. Gender equality was "enforced" in the communist bloc as part of the official doctrine. The work status of women was meant to be indicative of the progressiveness of these countries. Emancipation involved creating workplaces dedicated to women (Domański, 1999; Yakushko, 2005) and paid employment for women stood for gender equality (e.g. Dalla Costa, 1988), creating the illusion that it had actually been achieved (Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011). Thus, during the communist era in Poland, women's roles were centrally dictated, and women working outside the home were the rule, rather than the exception (Fidelis, 2010; Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011; Gal & Kligman, 2000; Malinowska, 1995).

The principle of gender equality was formally guaranteed in article 66 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic from 1952. However, the same article

simultaneously placed emphasis on special protections for “mothers and children”, implicitly accentuating that women, not men, would bear the onus of childcare. Women were targets of special state policies prohibiting them from jobs that posed risks to their reproductive capacities (Fidelis, 2010; Walczewska, 1999), which was seen as a kindly consideration, to protect their health and help them reconcile family and work responsibilities (Fuszara, 2002). Again, a woman’s body, in particular her reproductive functions, determined her treatment in the public realm. No such policy was aimed at helping men reconcile employment and fatherhood.

Furthermore, the social roles women were expected to fill became more numerous, while those of men did not. Women not only worked, but also took care of their husbands, children, parents, homes. They were expected to embrace these roles as inherently rewarding, and a way to pursue self-realization (Fidelis, 2004; Frąckowiak-Sochańska, 2011). Women’s alleged resourcefulness and capability in the face of the variety of challenges that communism supplied were a way to task them with the responsibility for a well-functioning home. Men, meanwhile, for whom, according to widespread belief (Titkow, 2001), one of the main prescriptions in life—to gain and maintain status—was hard if not impossible to fulfill during this period, became only symbolically the head of the family. The pairing of a relatively weak man with a strong, capable woman led to what is termed the “managerial matriarchy” (Titkow, 2001, 2007), wherein women were exceptionally powerful privately, within the home, while publicly their needs and problems were considered negligible (Marody & Giza-Poleszczuk, 2000; Titkow, 2001).

When Poland came out of the era of communist rule, in 1989, the rejection of socialism for a free market system was attended by a rejection of policies that artificially leveled social groups, creating or restoring “natural” hierarchies, also with respect to gender relations (Johnson, 1997; Stulhofer & Sandfort, 2007). Gender equality policies had been

associated with the communist system, and freedom allowed people to lean towards a more unequal "natural" division of gender roles. Indeed, some women welcomed a return to traditional gender roles and felt the urge to overcompensate for years of subjugated femininity (Kowalska, 2000). While for women in Western societies "the battle for fairness has always been a linear one to be treated more like men, for post-Soviet Russian [and Polish] women, the battle for fairness quickly became to be treated more like women" (Bruk, 2014). Although most women would still work, professional advancement was not seen as a priority for them (Desperak, 2009; Desperak & Rek, 2008; Lisowska, 2009; Reszke, 2001), and, even when successful in their careers, women were perceived as still primarily wanting to be mothers (Łaciak, 1995).

Thus, the trajectories of women's changing roles in Polish society diverged markedly from those in the United States. In line with social role theory (Eagly, 1987), Polish women, working outside the home, were ascribed the same competence and abilities as men (cf. Mandal, 1993, 1995). The complementarity of competence and warmth observed in the United States, wherein a woman can be either warm but incompetent (e.g., when she is a mother or housewife) or competent but cold (e.g., when she is a businesswoman), but not both (e.g. Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), is not observed in Polish society. In Poland, women can be both warm and competent—at least when they fill the role of mothers or housewives (Mikołajczak, Pietrzak, & Winiewski, 2009; Pietrzak, Mikołajczak, Chroł, & Markiewicz, 2011).

These differences in the roles and perceptions of women brings into consideration how sexism is rooted and manifested in the Polish society and among other cultural groups that have not followed the same historical trajectories as educated middle-class groups in the United States.

Previous Research on Ambivalent Sexism in Poland

Unfortunately, Poland was not included in the multinational comparison by Glick and collaborators (2000). Here I provide a brief summary of previously published studies assessing sexism with the ASI in Poland.

In a sample of Polish adults (passengers of trains; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), mean levels of sexism ranged from 2.30 (HS among women) to 3.15 (BS among men) on 0-5 scales, where higher scores indicate greater sexism. Levels of both HS and BS were higher among men than among women, and the difference in mean levels was greater for hostile attitudes. In a sample of online users (Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2015), the mean level of HS was below the scale mid-point (3.61, on a 1-7 scale), similarly to the mean level of BS (3.44, on a 1-7 scale). Men scored higher both on BS and HS.

A comparison of a Polish and a US sample of female students (Forbes, Doroszewicz, Card, & Adams-Curtis, 2004) found both forms of sexism to be higher among Polish students. Similarly, a comparison of ambivalent sexism levels in Poland, South Africa and Great Britain (Zawisza, Luyt, & Zawadzka, 2015) found that Polish students endorsed sexism more than South African students of both genders did. (The lowest level of ASI was found in the UK.) Similarly as in the sample of Polish adults (Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), mean levels of sexism among the Polish students in the sample varied between 2.60 (endorsement of HS among females) and 3.07 (endorsement of BS among males), on a scale from 0 to 5.

None of the previously published studies tested model fit of ASI in Poland, nor reported analysis for particular subscales[i]. As will be shown in Chapter III, analyses on larger and more heterogeneous samples show that the model proposed by Glick and Fiske does not fit Polish data well. This empirical evidence substantiates theoretical critiques of the way sexism is operationalized in the ASI (Gibbons et al., 1997; Hayes & Swim, 2013; McHugh & Frieze, 1997), and indicates that not all dimensions proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996) in

AST and measured in the ASI might be as relevant in other countries as in the United States. To address this problem, in the following chapter I provide suggestions for new dimensions of ambivalent sexism, broadening the scope of AST.

Chapter II

A Broader Conceptualization of Ambivalent Sexism

In this section, I will delve into aspects of sexism that are not encompassed by AST that I consider central to the perception of women and to the explanation of gender inequalities. Specifically, on the basis of the theoretical assumptions described below, as well as qualitative and quantitative data described in Chapter III, I distinguish two additional springboards for sexism: the conviction that the fundamental role of a woman is that of the mother (together with the assumption that women's goals should be subsumed under others' goals and needs), and the responsibility for aesthetics that is placed upon women.

Motherhood Beliefs

Motherhood is probably one of the most important aspects of traditional femininity (e.g., Hryciuk & Korolczuk, 2012). The ideology of motherhood equates the female gender role with that of a mother and is an extrapolation of female traits and roles related to biological motherhood: just as an ideal mother nurtures her baby and expresses her unconditional love through care and devotion, an ideal woman is expected to be communal and take care of others.

Similarly to the assumption that people are not complete without being romantically involved with a person of the opposite gender (as indicated by the heterosexual intimacy factor of BS), the notion of womanhood as motherhood states that women cannot find true life fulfillment unless they are mothers (Arendell, 2000; García & de Oliveira, 1997; John Paul II, 1988, 1995). As a result, it is common to assume that women work only out of economic necessity—if they had the freedom to choose, they would devote themselves entirely to the rewarding roles of wife and mother (Desperak, 2009; Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002). Mothers who work out of personal choice are assumed to be bad mothers and are less

desired both as friends and as coworkers (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012). These detrimental evaluations do not apply to working fathers. Even women with high-status positions in the public sphere are perceived through the lens of motherhood; their parental status is highlighted even when irrelevant. For example, recent criticism of Wendy Davis, a woman running for governor of Texas, suggested that she is "negligent" as a mother as she pursues a political career (Slater, 2014). In another recent article entitled "The motherhood trap" (Lewis, 2015), attention has been drawn to the fact that many successful women are childless.

Accordingly, all women are perceived as actual or potential mothers (Budrowska, 2000; Heinen & Wator, 2006) and are expected to view themselves through a sentimentalized "good mother" stereotype (Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002; Mottarella, Fritzsche, Whitten, & Bedsole, 2009; Świstow, 2006; cf. Badinter, 2012; de Beauvoir, 1949; Łaciak, 2012) and their happiness is expected to be entirely bound up in family. The prevailing assumption is that all women want to become mothers. If they fail to do so, they will definitely feel unfulfilled (Łaciak, 2012). Indeed, many women see this aspect of womanhood as providing purpose in life (Adamiak, 1999) and central for their identity (Titkow, 2007).

The ideology of self-sacrifice that, as mentioned above, goes along with motherhood beliefs, proposes that women are the embodiment of altruistic spirit (Bem, 1974; Janion, 1996, 2006). This ideology prescribes a shift of focus from the self to others—primarily to one's partner and children, but also to extended family and wider social collectives (Hamer, 2012)—and occupation of care-taking and supportive roles (cf. compulsory altruism, Land & Rose, 1985; ethics of care, Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). Traits such as renunciation, sacrifice, care, compassion and understanding are cherished as uniquely feminine traits, and as such highlight gender differences in predispositions to fulfill certain social roles (Bem, 1974; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990). Women are often ascribed the capacity for heroic sacrifice so that it can be demanded of them (Graff, 2008). If they do not express their willingness to act

upon it – they are publicly shamed and punished with abasement (Graff, 2008). Unlike men, women are not stigmatized for not being successful, but rather for not devoting themselves to others (e.g., Okimoto & Heilman, 2012).

Aesthetic Beliefs

The popular notion of women as the fair gender is reflected in the emphasis on appearance as a dimension of evaluation of women (Etcoff, Stock, Haley, Vickery, & House, 2011). Research reveals that physical appearance, such as facial features or weight, plays a central role in evaluations of women, but not so much in evaluations of men (Judge & Cable, 2011). Indeed, physical appearance is often deemed the essence of femininity: from a very early age, girls are socialized and encouraged to take care of their outward appearance in a way that boys are not (Blaise, 2005). Women are more likely to be described in terms of their appearance, regardless of context (e.g. Lake, Snell, Gormley, & Lethbridge-Cejkku, 2013). Moreover, they are encouraged to link their self-esteem with assessments of their appearance by boys and men (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Puvia & Vaes, 2013). The importance of aesthetic beliefs is also visible in dating and courtship scripts (Laner & Ventrone, 1998, 2000), according to which the woman is expected to be more preoccupied with her appearance during a first date than is the man.

Traditional femininity is often defined not only through attractiveness, but also through a modest, appropriate appearance that conveys "self-respect" (Korolczuk, 2009, 2012; Mandal, 2003; Odrzygóźdź & Sarnecka, 2006). Thus, the aesthetic prescription goes beyond the narrow definition of physical appearance (or sex appeal), referring to the appropriateness of a woman's behavior in general. The ideology of aesthetics also dictates that women should take care of not only their own appearance (Gromkowska, 2002; Korolczuk, 2009) but also the appearance of their social environment (i.e., their home and their partners; Titkow, Duch-Krzysztoszek, & Budrowska, 2004).

The appreciation of female appearance cannot come at no cost; in fact, women are expected to make efforts to achieve heightened beauty (Forbes, Collinsworth, Jobe, Braun, & Wise, 2007). When they do so, they are socially rewarded (Swami, et al., 2010): for example, women who adhere to aesthetic norms by wearing make-up are evaluated not only as more attractive than women without make-up, but also as more competent, likeable, and trustworthy (Etcoff, et al., 2011). When women do not conform to beauty standards, they face social penalties (Roehling, 1999): for example, overweight women have lower chances of being employed than do overweight men.

A recently released report (Lake et al., 2013) highlights the role of appearance for women in the political domain. According to the authors, the appearance of successful women is often regarded as more important than their actual achievements – the good and bad aspects of their looks are constantly picked on and, often, mocked. In a similar vein, Braden (2015) showed that press releases concerning women politicians often refer to their relationship and family status, and physical appearance. This hardly ever happens to men. It seems, therefore, that aesthetic beliefs might be a common aspect of evaluating women.

Possible Consequences for Women

The proposed dimensions of sexism – motherhood and aesthetic beliefs – are thus of substantial importance in the everyday lives of women. Similar to the previously identified dimensions of BS, they are positive in tone and provide women with certain privileges and rewards. However, like the previously identified dimensions, they might be detrimental for women and contribute to justifications of the existing gender hierarchy.

For example, the maternal prescription is related to that of a homemaker (Karasiewicz & Kosakowska, 2008; Kosakowska, 2004), which often limits women's career opportunities. Cultural expectations that a woman will prioritize children above all else lead to an (unconscious) assumption that her commitment to the job, the effort she puts into it, will

falter (Desperak, 2009), resulting in a motherhood penalty (Auleytner, 2008; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Similarly, although the altruistic self-sacrifice ingrained in the motherhood dimension is cherished as a human trait, it is seen as part of the private (not public) sphere, propelling women to devote their time and efforts to voluntary work benefiting their family and community, without any formal compensation (cf. Brickell & Chant, 2010, for an overview). Since "work" is still equated exclusively with paid employment (Waring, 1988), reproductive and domestic work performed by women remains unacknowledged by society (Desperak & Rek, 2008). If women do not "work", they are not eligible for public pensions and remain dependent on their partners, which is one of the factors leading to the so-called feminization of poverty (Deperak & Rek, 2008). Moreover, the notion that women should put the needs of other people over their own has been linked to a greater likelihood of self-silencing to sexist incidents (Swim, Eyssell, Murdoch, & Fergusson, 2010).

The aesthetic prescription, similarly to Western beauty ideals (Brownmiller, 1984; Dworkin, 1974; Jeffreys, 2005; Wolf, 1991), is oppressive to women to the extent that it requires time and effort to conform to, and serves as the basis for evaluation of women in the public realm. Studies show that appearance influences workplace evaluations of women: while sexy self-presentation helps women in low-status jobs (Glick, Larsen, Johnson, & Branstiter, 2005), attractive women, compared to less attractive ones, are less likely to get a high-status managerial position. These descriptions and depictions—even when positive—affect ascriptions of mental traits, including intelligence (Archer, Iritani, Kimes, & Barios, 1983) and competence (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). Actually, any mention of appearance at all, independent of valence, has been shown to negatively influence favorability ratings of and likelihood of voting for a woman running for Congress in a nationwide sample of US online users (Lake et al., 2013).

Moreover, emphasis on female appearance may lead to sexual objectification of women. Studies show that a bodily focus not only reduces ascriptions of competence-related traits such as intelligence, but also warmth-related capacities such as morality (e.g. Cikara et al., 2009; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). An appearance focus is also detrimental to women's self-perceptions: women who are asked to use make-up consider themselves less competent when they are expecting to be judged, and have a stronger tendency to self-objectify (Puvia, 2011), that is, internalize the observer's perspective on their physical appearance (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). This carries with it a variety of negative consequences, such as body shame, decreased self-confidence, diminished overall mental well-being, and an increased belief that existing gender relations at the societal level are fair (Calogero, 2012; Calogero & Jost, 2011; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009). It is likely then that both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, although ostensibly positive, cause collateral damage to women. In the following chapter I am presenting a line of empirical studies supporting these theoretical arguments.

Chapter III

Empirical Evidence for the Extended AST and ASI

Overview of Studies

To broaden the concept of ambivalent sexism proposed in AST (Glick & Fiske, 1996) by including additional dimensions tapping into motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, I developed a new measure of sexist attitudes. The development of the new scale was stepwise. In the first, qualitative step, new dimensions of ambivalent sexism were defined and operationalized. Following the qualitative stage, the structure of the scale was explored and verified empirically. Next, the predictive validity of the new dimensions was tested across different social domains.

Preliminary studies

Scale construction was preceded with the qualitative stage: cultural analysis, an open-ended survey and two focus-group interviews. The open-ended survey was administered to 20 Polish participants (12 women and 8 men). Each participant was presented with four questions from the list addressing issues such as: manifestations of better/worse treatment of women/men, social do's and don'ts for women/men, domains/traits in which women/men are considered to be better/worse or excel in, traits participants were proud of in their own gender /envied the opposite gender, and typical compliments given to women/men. Two focus-group interviews (one with 7 undergraduate students enrolled in a course on the psychology of sexism, one with 4 working women) were conducted. Each interview lasted about an hour and a half. Out of the topics that emerged in these preliminary investigations, three were selected for further analyses as potential sources of ambivalence toward women. These topics referred to: beliefs about the role of motherhood in the lives of women, the emphasis placed upon the appearance of women, and the notion of female sacrifice.

Item generation

As a next step, an initial pool of hostile and benevolent items representing the original and the newly proposed items was generated with the help of competent judges. Judges (*N* = 8) were presented with short descriptions of six subscales: the three dimensions originally proposed by Glick and Fiske (paternalism, gender differentiation, heterosexual interdependence), and the three newly proposed dimensions (motherhood beliefs, aesthetic beliefs, and self-sacrifice beliefs). Judges were presented with descriptions of all dimensions and one item reflecting each of the dimensions to facilitate item generation. They were asked to generate items that would reflect one, multiple, or all of the dimensions. Judges were instructed to generate as many relevant items as they could for each dimension. The judges were informed that the item generation was a first step in the validation of a new scale that would allow measurement of both positive and negative attitudes toward women and beliefs about their role in society.

Judges were provided with the following descriptions for the dimensions:

"Paternalism beliefs can be understood as beliefs that women lack competence in many domains, which justifies why they serve inferior, less prestigious roles in society. On the other hand, paternalism assumes that women are weaker and more delicate than men, which is why they can remain passive in adversities and it is the men's responsibility to protect them."

"Beliefs about **gender differentiation** are beliefs that only men possess traits necessary for high status positions; traits attributed to women are related mostly to the private domain (household). Women are ascribed traits that men stereotypically lack and *vice versa*, which fosters the belief that both genders complement each other."

"**Heterosexual interdependence** is the belief that having a partner of the opposite gender is necessary for life fulfillment. This belief means that a woman needs a man and a

man needs a woman to achieve happiness. On the other hand, this interdependence might lead to contradictory goals and hostility, for example when one of the partners is not capable of fulfilling all the needs and wishes of the other."

„**Motherhood** beliefs are beliefs that equate the female role with that of a mother. This belief assumes that the role of a mother is a life fulfillment for every woman and women are primarily evaluated on the basis of whether they conform to the traits ascribed to good mothers."

„Aesthetic beliefs are beliefs that women are the fair gender and should always take care of their appearance. On the other hand, this gives them an advantage over men that they can use to their own benefit."

„**The self-sacrifice** belief is the belief that women should put the needs of others over their own needs and focus on caring and supporting roles, not only in relation to their partners and children, but also the elderly and their community. On the other hand, such a focus on others can be perceived as a way of controlling the environment."

To ensure that the initial pool was expansive (i.e. that it included as many items as possible to avoid missing important aspects of sexism and to maximize face and content validity), in addition to items tapping specifically into these dimensions, items tapping into the broader questions, e.g., about what women are better at, what women are complimented on, etc., based on answers to open-ended questions and focus interviews, were included in the pool. This was done to explore whether there might be other, underlying dimensions that were not identified a priori.

The initial pool of 180 items generated by the judges was narrowed down to 120 new items. This number was chosen to reduce redundancy and ensure a 10:1 person-to-item ratio (Costello & Osborne, 2005) in the exploratory study.

Scale Construction and Psychometric Properties

In this part, I present data from quantitative studies conducted to develop and validate the extended ASI scale. For conceptual simplicity and comparative purposes, the results are grouped according to the theoretical and empirical issues addressed rather than study by study (the source of the data is clearly labeled in each case).

Table 1 shows a summary of the conducted studies. Data for the exploratory study were collected in Poland. Data for validation studies were collected in Poland and in the United States. This allowed for the verification of the model fit of the newly proposed scale in the context where the original ASI was developed, and for a test of the validity of the new dimensions against the dimensions proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996).

Samples. The eight studies reported here involved a total of 3,424 individuals. Recruitment procedures varied among studies. Sampling strategy for each study is described in detail below. Samples 1, 3 (partly), 4, 6 (partly), 7 and 8 were recruited online. Sample 2 comprised passengers of local and long-distance trains. In most studies, participants were invited to a survey "examining peoples' beliefs about men and women and their relationships in contemporary society" (cf. Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Participation in all studies was voluntary and participants were free to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice or penalty. All data collected in the studies were anonymous and were stored confidentially. Participants from Samples 4 and 8 (collected on Amazon's Mechanical Turk, MTurk) were paid $1.00 each. In all remaining studies, participation was not remunerated.

Sample 1. The study was conducted on a nation-wide sample of Polish internet users that aged 18-50. Invitations to the online survey were displayed on selected popular webpages of the Polish internet). Data were collected in March 2012. The sample consisted of 1,200 participants (699 women, 501 men), M_{age} = 32.97, *SD* = 9.42, of whom 36.4% had

lower or secondary education, 29.8% postsecondary or bachelor´s degree, 33.8% completed their master´s degree or had an academic title. Of the sample, 36.8% lived in villages, 32.2% lived in towns up to 100,000 inhabitants, 31.0% in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants. The majority (74.3%) self-declared as Catholic, 59.4% declared attending Church at least once a month.

In the invitation to the survey, participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine peoples' beliefs about men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Participants provided answers to the 120 newly-generated items and the 22 items from the original ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996; back-translated into Polish, Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014)[ii], followed by socio-demographic questions. Participants rated the items on a scale from 1 - *disagree strongly* to 7 - *agree strongly*, in a randomized order.

Sample 2. Sample 2 comprised passengers of regional and long-distance trains to and from Warsaw. Data were collected in May 2013. The sample consisted of 156 participants (79 women, 72 men), M_{age} = 34.91, *SD* = 11.55. The sample was fairly heterogeneous with respect to education and place of residence. Roughly one in five (18.5%) participants had a secondary or lower educational background, 29.9% postsecondary or bachelor´s degree, 50.6% master´s or academic degree. Two in five participants (40.9%) lived in villages or towns up to 100,000 inhabitants, 59.1% in larger cities. The majority of the sample were Catholic (76.9%), 50.0% were practicing (i.e. attended Church at least once a month). The sample was fairly balanced with respect to political orientation, *M* = 5.15, *SD* = 2.62 (on a scale from 1 – *left* to 10 – *right*). Roughly two in five (42.7%) participants declared that they were parents, 57.3% did not have children.

Participants were approached by a student assistant and those who agreed to participate were given a paper-and-pencil questionnaire. Questionnaires were then collected by the assistant after approximately 30 minutes. Participants were informed that the survey

consists of several scales measuring attitudes toward women and men and the relationship between them, and were asked to provide answers that expressed their personal opinions. The questionnaire comprised the test version of the extended ASI (42 items), together with other established measures of sexism: Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism Scales (Swim, et al., 1995), Attitudes Toward Women Scale (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973), and Gender-Specific System Justification Scale (Jost & Kay, 2005).

Sample 3. Sample 3 comprised seven sub-samples of undergraduate and graduate students of different universities in Poland (70.2% female, M_{age} = 26.02, *SD* = 8.37). As the sub-samples were fairly similar in terms of educational background, age, and the mean values for the subscales of the extended ASI, they were pooled for the sake of confirmatory factor analysis. The aggregated sample included 456 participants.

The test version of the extended ASI that was included in each of the seven studies as part of larger questionnaires testing hypotheses referring to evaluations of women in different contexts or gender relations more broadly, as was stated in the invitation to the studies. Most samples were collected between April and June 2013 by undergraduate students in fulfillment of year-long empirical research projects supervised by the author. Two studies employed correlational designs, five studies were experimental. In all experimental studies I tested for possible differences in the extended ASI scores prior to aggregating the data. If there was a difference in scores between conditions, only the control condition was included in the sample used here.

Sample 4. A total sample of 319 US residents (53.9% female, M_{age} = 38.09, *SD* = 12.06) was recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (cf. Mason & Suri, 2012; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). Data were collected between 12 and 17 March 2015. Only American participants were able to take part in the study, all participants completed the survey fully. The majority of participants (76.5%) were White/Caucasian, 11% Black/African American,

4.7% Asian American, 5.6% Latino/Hispanic, 2.2% other. Of the sample, 23.5% had a high school diploma, 21.3% an associate's degree, 43.9% a bachelor's degree, 11.3% a master's degree or an academic title. Roughly one in three (35.5%) participants were married, 17.9% were in an informal relationship, 46.5% were single (never married, divorced, widowed or separated). Roughly half (44.9%) were parents, 55.1% did not have children. Of the sample, 58.9% self-declared as (lower or upper) middle class, 29.4% working class, 11.7% lower class. With respect to religiosity, 44.5% did not belong to any religious denomination, 13.4% were Roman Catholic, 22.7% Protestant, 19.3% other. Two in five participants (41.1%) declared that religion was important to them, 50.5% declared it was not important, and 8.4% had a middle-of-the-road stance. In the invitation to the survey, participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine peoples' beliefs about men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Each participant received $1.00 as compensation for participation. The questionnaire comprised the test version of the extended ASI scale (back-translated into English), together with a number of constructs to establish its convergent, discriminant and predictive validity in the American context. As the questionnaire comprised a fairly large number of measures, participants were randomly assigned only some of them. A detailed description of the measures used, together with exact number of participants who filled out a particular measure is provided in the relevant sections of the thesis.

Sample 5. The study was a part of a survey conducted on a representative sample of Poles with the use of the CAPI (Computer Assisted Personal Interview) method. Data were collected in June 2013. Respondents were randomly selected from the 18+ PESEL sampling frame. The sample consisted of 965 participants (51.6% female, M_{age} = 48.68, *SD* = 17.40). Sample demographics approximated 2011 Polish Census figures (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2012), concerning gender, age, education, and settlement size. Questions of interest - that is, items from the motherhood beliefs subscale, together with questions on

admissibility of abortion, conservatism and religiosity - were embedded in a larger survey concerning different social groups in Poland.

Table 1

Summary of the validation studies

Sample	*N*	Participants	Aim of the study
1	1,200	internet users, adults aged 18-50 (PL)	exploratory factor analysis
2	156	passengers of regional and long-distance trains (PL)	confirmatory factor analysis convergent and discriminant validity
3	456	undergraduate and graduate students (PL)	confirmatory factor analysis
4	319	adults recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (US)	confirmatory factor analysis, convergent and discriminant validity, predictive validity
5	965	simple random sample representative for adults aged 18+ (PL)	predictive validity
6	104	mixed sample of students and working adults (PL)	predictive validity
7	145	mixed sample of students and working adults (PL)	predictive validity
8	79	adults recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk (US)	convergent and discriminant validity, predictive validity

Sample 6. A total sample of N = 104 Polish adults (77.1% female, M_{age} = 38.34, SD = 16.06) was recruited with the snowballing method. The invitation was emailed to informal networks of colleagues and acquaintances (who were unfamiliar with the research questions) of the undergraduate student who conducted the study as part of a research towards a master thesis.

In the invitation to the survey, participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine expectations people hold about their co-workers and family members, and beliefs about interpersonal relationships in Polish society. Participants were asked to define a perfect family member or an employee, woman or a man in a 2 x 2 (domain x target's gender) between-participants design. Following the experimental part, they were presented with an allegedly unrelated part, including 10 items from the extended ASI scale.

Sample 7. An online sample of 145 Polish adults (59.6% female, M_{age} = 23.01, SD = 3.74), was recruited with the snowballing method. The invitation to the study was emailed to informal networks of colleagues and acquaintances (who were unfamiliar with the research questions) of the undergraduate student running the study as part of a year-long empirical project.

Data were collected between 11 and 27 May 2013. Of the sample, 19.9% had a secondary education or lower, 45.2% a postsecondary education or bachelor's degree, 34.9% a master's or academic degree. The questionnaire comprised items from the BS, HS and aesthetic beliefs subscales, and questions about beauty ideals.

Sample 8. A total sample of N = 79 women (M_{age} = 34.37, SD = 11.25) was recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk. Only American participants were able to take part in the study. All participants completed the survey fully. Data were collected on 4-5 June 2015. The majority of the sample (73.4%) was White/Caucasian. Of the sample 25.4% had a high school diploma, 26.6% an associate's degree, 27.8% a bachelor's degree, 10.1% a master's

degree or an academic title. 39.0% were mothers, 61.0% did not have children. The sample was fairly balanced in terms of political orientation (M = 4.75, SD = 1.30, scale range 1 – *conservative*, 7 – *liberal*) and religiosity (M = 3.01, SD = 2.35, scale range 1 – *not important*, 7 – *very important*). In the invitation to the survey, participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to examine peoples' beliefs about social groups and identity. Each participant received $1.00 as compensation for participation. The questionnaire comprised a short version of ASI (10 items), items measuring motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, questions concerning identity with subgroups of women and willingness to engage in collective action on behalf of various issues and groups.

Results

Data from the eight studies verifying the factor structure, convergent and discriminant validity, as well as predictive validity of the extended ASI scales are presented below. For all analyses, gender differences between participants were examined and are reported in those cases in which significant differences were found.

Exploratory factor analysis. Exploratory factor analysis was performed on data from Sample 1 (i.e. responses to the 120 newly-generated items and the 22 items from the original ASI). Criteria for exploratory factor analysis were guided by recent theoretical and practical recommendations for scale development (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010; Costello & Osborne, 2005; Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). Principal axis factors extraction was chosen over the more common principal components analysis (Worthington & Whittaker, 2006). The oblique direct oblimin rotation was chosen over an orthogonal rotation (Costello & Osborne, 2005) as factors were expected to correlate in measuring different facets of sexism. As the competent judges had been instructed to generate items for six ambivalent sexism dimensions, the EFA was expected to provide a seven-factor structure (six benevolent factors + one hostile factor; as in all analyses provided

by Glick & Fiske [1996], BS split into three originally conceptualized factors, while HS proved to be strongly uni-dimensional). Analyses were performed with the use of the SPSS 22.0 statistical package.

The KMO measure of sampling adequacy was .94, above the recommended value of .60, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant: χ^2 (10011) = 61136.15, p<.001. Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all items. There were no missing data in the analyzed variables.

Upon obtaining the initial solution, items with: low face validity, extremely low and high means (floor and ceiling effects), low variance of responses, low communalities (<.30; Velicer & Fava, 1998), low primary factor loadings (< .40; Costello & Osborne, 2005), and high cross-loadings (≥ .32; Tabachnik & Fidel, 2001), and items reducing the reliability of a target subscale, were excluded in an iterative process. The subsequent EFAs were computed each time an item was deleted until the pool of items was narrowed down to 46. For each factor a minimum of four items (Costello & Osborne, 2005; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001) with moderate to good loadings (> .45; Costello & Osborne, 2005) was retained. Analysis revealed 8 factors (based on the revised MAP test; O'Connor, 2000; Velicer, Eaton, & Fava, 2000; eigenvalue > 1; and rejection of factors with fewer than 3 items, Costello & Osborne, 2005) in the final solution. The full list of items that were retained in the final solution, together with values of factor loadings, is attached in the appendix (Table A).

The final solution explained 39.20% of variance. Three factors corresponded with the BS subscales proposed by Glick and Fiske: protective paternalism (Factor 6, 1.38% of variance explained), heterosexual intimacy (Factor 4, 2.13% of variance explained), and complementary gender differentiation (Factor 2, 7.98% of variance explained). Instead of obtaining three separate factors for the newly proposed dimensions, only two appeared in the solution: motherhood beliefs, collapsed with the self-sacrificing beliefs (Factor 3, 3.73% of

variance explained), and aesthetic beliefs (Factor 5, 1.80% of variance explained). Also, contrary to expectations, in this initial solution HS was represented not by one, but by two separate factors (Factor 1, 19.71% of variance explained, and Factor 7, 1.26% of variance explained). Factor 1 included items related to the notion that women want to take power from men, e.g., "Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for 'equality'," and control them, e.g., "Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash". Factor 7 included items related to alleged female flaws/ compensatory gender differentiation, e.g., "Women are too easily offended, and a lack of appreciation of men," or "Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them". It needs to be noted however that in all consecutive confirmatory analyses, models with HS represented by one-factor solution provided a better fit than models with a two-factor HS solution.

The last factor that was revealed (Factor 8, 1.22% of variance explained), was not an a priori assumed sub-dimension of ambivalence toward women, but emerged based on items referring to things women are better at than are men. It comprised items referring to beliefs about female resourcefulness, e.g., "A woman can find a way out of even a hopeless situation", "Women can make quick decisions when the situation calls for it". Potentially, these indicate differences between men and women in perceived competence.

Table 2 presents correlations between the subscales identified in the exploratory analysis. According to conventions for assessing strength of correlations (Dancey & Redy, 2004), correlation between the two HS factors was strong. Moderate, positive correlations were found between two dimensions of BS proposed by Glick and Fiske (1996): protective paternalism and heterosexual intimacy. This was also the case for these two dimensions and the two newly proposed ones: motherhood beliefs and aesthetic beliefs. Correlations between CGD and the other four benevolent dimensions were weaker. Also, correlations between

CGD and both hostile subscales were significant, but negligible (below the .10 cutoff point for a weak relationship). These results indicate that the operationalization of CGD proposed by Glick and Fiske might not tap into ambivalent sexism in Poland.

Table 2

Correlations between the factors obtained in the exploratory factor analysis

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Hostile Sexism (1)	.08**	.42**	.37**	.34**	.35**	.71**	-.36**
2. Complementary Gender Differentiation		.26**	.32**	.28**	.36**	.08**	.27**
3. Motherhood Beliefs			.52**	.44**	.45**	.27**	-.16**
4. Aesthetic Beliefs				.47**	.44**	.25**	.02
5. Heterosexual Intimacy					.51**	.22**	.03
6. Protective Paternalism						.25**	.01
7. Hostile Sexism (2)							-.28**
8. Resourcefulness							

Note. $^{**}p < .001$

Out of the four benevolent subscales, resourcefulness was positively linked only to complementary gender differentiation, which, as indicated above, was only weakly linked to other BS dimensions. Beliefs about female resourcefulness were unrelated to protective paternalism, heterosexual intimacy, and aesthetic beliefs. Moreover, they were negatively linked to HS and to motherhood beliefs. Thus, although they tapped into positive beliefs

about female competence, there was no evidence supporting the notion that they are a part of ambivalence. Results of two independent studies with American samples (Mikołajczak & Iyer, 2015), aimed at verifying whether female resourcefulness can be considered separate from competence, also did not yield conclusive results. Moreover, similarly as in the Polish sample, beliefs about resourcefulness in the United States sample were negatively linked to HS (as was the case in a study with a Swedish sample, Wronski, 2013), unrelated to PP, and negatively linked to the remaining dimensions of BS (HI, CGD, motherhood and aesthetic beliefs). For all these reasons, all items loading on this factor were dropped from the test version of the scale used in validation studies.

Test version of the extended ASI. The test version of the extended ASI comprised 42 items (after excluding four resourcefulness items). Four items were retained for each original BS dimension. As motherhood and aesthetic beliefs subscales were not validated in previous research, 5 items were retained for each. Thus, overall, 22 benevolent items were retained. To counterbalance the number of BS items with hostile items for further validation studies, 11 items from the ASI HS subscale and 9 newly formulated items were retained. The hostile subscale comprised the hostile component of each new dimension. Hostility related to motherhood beliefs was expressed in the idea that women use the self-sacrificing notion to their advantage (e.g., "Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others"). In the case of aesthetic beliefs, hostility was reflected in the notion that women actually gain from being the fair gender (e.g., "Looks are more helpful than know-how for women's career advancement").

The test version of the extended ASI was then used in subsequent studies to verify the validity of the proposed model. An additional goal of the studies was to reduce the number of items in the extended ASI, to provide a research tool that could be easily administered in

future studies aimed at diagnosing sexism and understanding mechanisms through which it bolsters gender discrimination.

Confirmatory factor analysis. Exploratory factor analysis was followed by confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to evaluate the validity of the hypothesized model and alternative models (Cabrera-Nguyen, 2010; Worthington & Whittaker, 2006) in Poland and the United States. Following common practice in establishing sufficient sample size (cf. Worthington & Whittaker, 2006), a minimum 10:1 person-to-parameter ratio and the minimum $N = 300$ for the number of participants were used. For this reason data from Polish participants in Sample 2 ($N = 156$) and Sample 3 ($N = 450$) were pooled, giving an aggregate sample of $N = 606$ participants. Data from Sample 4 ($N = 319$) were used to assess model fit in the United States. Missing data in both samples did not exceed 3% for each of the variables under study. For both samples, the covariance matrix was used instead of raw data. All computations were performed with AMOS 22.0 software package and maximum likelihood estimation procedures.

Reduction in the number of items. Extended ASI vs. the original ASI. Prior to comparison of the model fit of the hypothesized and alternative models, the number of items in extended ASI was reduced from 42 to 25. Items with the greatest factor loadings, greatest squared multiple correlations, and most consistent performance in all samples were retained. This decision was driven by concern for parsimony and the ease of admissibility of the final scale. Given that the recommended acceptable minimum number of items per factor is three (Brown, 2006), the final scale comprised 15 benevolent items (5 dimensions x 3 items). To counterbalance the number of benevolent items with the hostile ones, 10 hostile items were retained. This number was slightly lower given that only one general factor for the hostile sexism was assumed. Addressing specific shortcomings of the original HS subscale identified

in the literature (McHugh & Frieze, 1997), items about feminists were removed from the final version of the scale[iii].

Factor structure and model fit. The preferred model was guided by theoretical assumptions and the exploratory factor analysis (cf. Glick & Fiske, 1996). It was hypothesized that the extended ASI would have two second-order factors reflective of the benevolent and hostile components of sexism. Further, it was assumed that the benevolent factor would comprise five first-order factors: three factors corresponding with the original dimensions of BS, and two factors corresponding with the newly proposed dimensions, motherhood beliefs and aesthetic beliefs (see Figure 3).

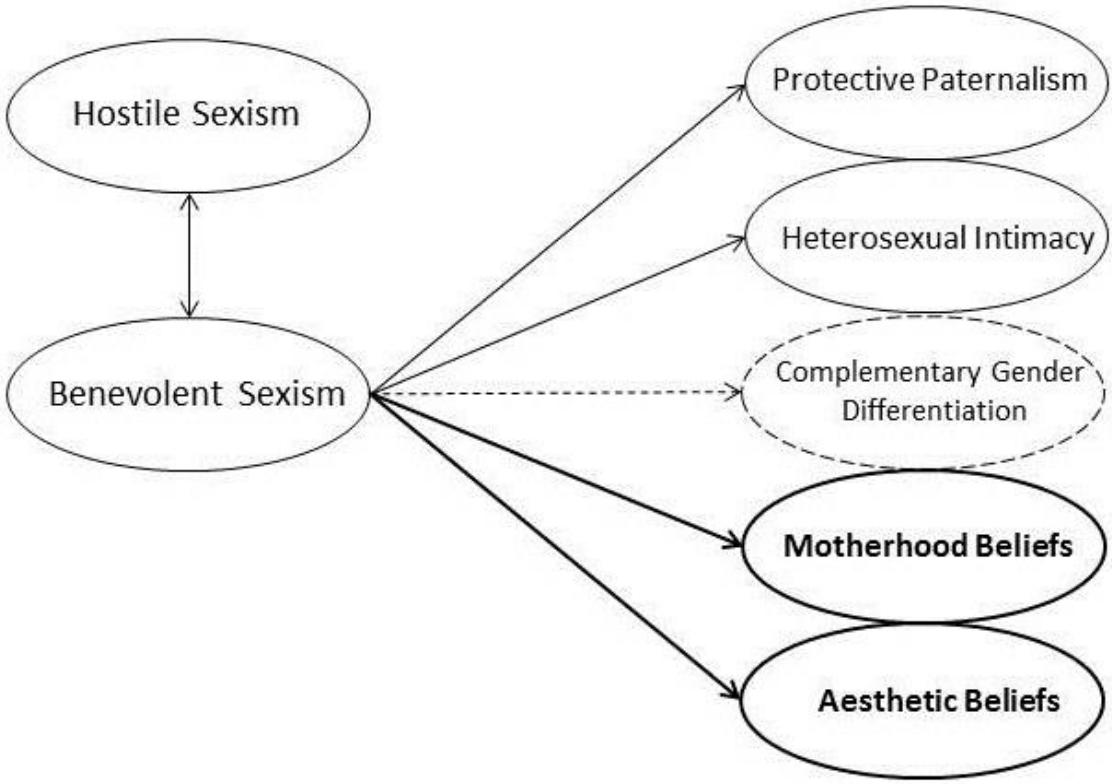

Figure 3. Proposed model for the extended ASI

Tables 3 and 4 present model fit of the preferred (full) and eight alternative models in Poland and in the United States. In both countries the preferred (full) model was tested

against: the one-factor model (i.e. with all items allocated to a single sexism factor - to verify the assumption that, similar to AST, the extended AST is a two-dimensional construct), the two-factor model (i.e. with each item loading either on the BS or the HS factor - to prove that the benevolent dimensions proposed in the extended AST are distinct from each other), and the models with motherhood and aesthetic beliefs included as part of each of the original dimensions of BS (i.e. with either motherhood or aesthetic beliefs items loading on the PP, HI or CGD factors, respectively - to prove that the newly proposed dimensions are distinct from the original dimensions of BS).

All models were identified. For each model, fit was assessed with: chi-square, comparative fit index (CFI), root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR), and Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). Data-fit of the models was assessed according to recommendations provided by Hu and Bentler (1999). Well-fitting models met some or all of the following criteria: CFI > .95, RMSEA < .06, and SRMR < .05 (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Yu, 2002). As there is no methodological consensus whether models that differ in the number of latent factors can be considered nested or not (cf. Brown, 2006), both chi-square difference tests (appropriate for comparisons of nested models) as well as AIC values (appropriate for non-nested models) are provided in the tables.

As indicated in Tables 3 and 4, the hypothesized six-factor model fit well both in the Polish and in the United States samples. Moreover, as indicated by the significant chi-square difference tests and AIC values, none of the eight alternative models in either of the countries – including models assuming motherhood and aesthetic beliefs as part of the original dimensions - fit as well as the hypothesized model[iv].

Table 3

Confirmatory factor analyses of the preferred and alternative models (PL)

	X^2	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	AIC	*df*	$X^2_{diff}(df)$
1. Preferred (full) model	652.828	.939	.049	.048	814.828	269	-
2. One-factor model	2444.827	.655	.114	.098	2594.827	275	1791.999(6)**
3. Two-factor model	1529.205	.800	.087	.064	1681.205	274	876.337(5)**
4. M as a part of PP	943.538	.893	.064	.055	1103.538	270	290.71(1)**
5. M as a part of HI	967.592	.889	.066	.051	1127.592	270	314.764(1)**
6. M as a part of CGD	946.595	.892	.065	.062	1106.595	270	293.767(1)**
7. Ae as a part of PP	802.169	.915	.057	.049	962.169	270	149.341(1)**
8. Ae as a part of HI	919.107	.897	.063	.052	1079.107	270	266.279(1)**
9. Ae as a part of CGD	898.366	.900	.062	.055	1058.366	270	245.538(1)**

Note. CFI - comparative fit index, RMSEA - root-mean-square error of approximation SRMR - standardized root mean square residual, AIC - Akaike Information Criterion;
PP - protective paternalism, HI - heterosexual intimacy, CGD - complementary gender differentiation, M - motherhood beliefs, Ae - aesthetic beliefs
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Table 4

Confirmatory factor analyses of the preferred and alternative models (US)

	X^2	CFI	RMSEA	SRMR	AIC	*df*	X^2_{diff}*(df)*
1. Preferred (full) model	507.193	.953	.055	.059	683.193	269	-
2. One-factor model	2266.580	.617	.152	.129	2416.580	275	1759.387(6)**
3. Two-factor model	1053.661	.850	.095	.071	1205.661	274	546.468(5)**
4. M as a part of PP	620.784	.931	.066	.057	794.784	270	113.591(1)**
5. M as a part of HI	656.714	.924	.069	.059	830.714	270	149.521(1)**
6. M as a part of CGD	750.601	.906	.077	.063	924.601	270	243.408(1)**
7. Ae as a part of PP	606.098	.934	.065	.063	780.098	270	98.905(1)**
8. Ae as a part of HI	546.661	.945	.059	.060	720.661	270	34.468(1)**
9. Ae as a part of CGD	634.832	.929	.067	.065	808.832	270	127.639(1)**

Note. CFI - comparative fit index, RMSEA - root-mean-square error of approximation SRMR - standardized root mean square residual, AIC - Akaike Information Criterion;
PP - protective paternalism, HI - heterosexual intimacy, CGD - complementary gender differentiation, M - motherhood beliefs, Ae - aesthetic beliefs
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Table 5 displays standardized values for secondary factor loadings (i.e. factor loadings of the original and newly proposed BS subscales) and the correlation between BS and HS in both samples (unstandardized factor loadings with standard errors and *p* values are included as Appendices B and C). All factor loadings were significant (*p*s < .001) and had values of .70 or greater, reaching the criterion for a sound second-order factor loading (Schmidt, personal communication), except for the factor loading for CGD in the Polish sample, indicating that CGD might not tap into BS in Poland. The correlation between BS and HS was below the benchmark of .80 (Brown, 2006) both in the Polish and in the United States sample, indicating satisfactory discriminant validity of the BS and HS in the extended ASI, over a more parsimonious model. These results supported evidence provided by the

assessment of the overall model fit of the extended ASI and confirmed that both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs fit well in the proposed model.

Table 5

Secondary factor loadings and correlations among the extended ASI scales

Subscale	PL	US
Factor loadings of Benevolent Sexism subscales		
Protective Paternalism	.91	.85
Heterosexual Intimacy	.83	.90
Complementary Gender Differentiation	.54	.71
Motherhood Beliefs	.74	.78
Aesthetic Beliefs	.78	.94
Correlation between Benevolent and Hostile Sexism	.62	.56

Table 6 shows standardized values for first-order factor loadings for all items, in both samples. All factor loadings were significant (*p*s < .001) and, except for one item in the US sample, had a value of .50 of greater, indicating sound first-order factor loadings (Schmidt, personal communication). Overall, the majority of the items reached the criterion of a strong factor loading (≥ .60, Garson, 2010). Unstandardized factor loadings with standard errors and *p* values are attached in the appendix (Table B and Table C). Polish and English item wordings for the extended ASI, together with the instructions and scale range are included in the appendix (Table D).

Table 6

Factor loadings for the items in the extended ASI

	PL / US
Benevolent Sexism	
Protective Paternalism	
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	.69 / .79
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	.69 / .85
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	.78 / .81
Heterosexual Intimacy	
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	.66 / .85
Men are complete without women.	.85 / .63
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	.88 / .86
Complementary Gender Differentiation	
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	.57 / .79
Women are more sensitive to human suffering than men are.	.71 / .77
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	.76 / .82
Motherhood Beliefs	
Child-rearing is a woman's most important path to fulfillment.	.85 / .85
A woman shouldn't devote herself to her career if her children might suffer.	.61 / .65
A woman's most important role is that of a mother.	.88 / .89
Aesthetic Beliefs	
A real woman always looks impeccable.	.81 / .79
Being neat and well-groomed is the essence of femininity.	.78 / .81
A woman should not allow her man to go out unkempt.	.65 / .79
Hostile Sexism	
Women are only nice to men when they want something.	.62 / .80
Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others.	.62 / .75
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	.61 / .82
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	.69 / .72
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	.65 / .83
Looks are more helpful than know-how for women's career advancement.	.56 / .44
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	.73 / .84
Women demand that men worship them, without making any sacrifices themselves.	.68 / .80
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	.58 / .82
Women use the guise of being helpful to get in other people's personal business.	.57 / .80

Note. Items from Glick & Fiske (1996) are shown in italics. Numbers in table are standardized regression weights (βs). All factor loadings shown are significant at the $p < .001$ level.

Overall, the final version of the extended ASI included 25 items. BS was assessed with 15 items, HS with 10 items. Of items measuring BS, eight were retained from the original ASI: three items from PP, three items from HI, and two items from CGD. Seven new benevolent items tapped into: CGD (one item), aesthetic beliefs (three items), and motherhood beliefs (three items), respectively. Of items measuring HS, six were retained from the original ASI, and four corresponded with the newly proposed dimensions.

Reliabilities and descriptive statistics. Reliability of the subscales was assessed with coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951; Schmitt, 1996). Table 7 presents alpha coefficients of the extended ASI subscales across three samples used for CFA: Polish adults (Sample 2), Polish students (Sample 3), and American adults (Sample 4). As the observed gender differences were negligible, they are not reported in the table.

Table 7

Reliabilities for the extended ASI subscales

Subscale	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4
Protective Paternalism	.63	.79	.85
Heterosexual Intimacy	.83	.83	.83
Complementary Gender Differentiation	.69	.72	.83
Motherhood Beliefs	.80	.82	.83
Aesthetic Beliefs	.78	.78	.84
Hostile Sexism	.86	.87	.93

Reliability of the motherhood beliefs and aesthetic beliefs subscales exceeded the benchmark of .70 in all samples. Although all original subscales had a satisfactory reliability in the sample of American adults, the PP subscale reached the .70 benchmark in Poland only

in the student sample, and reliability for the CGD subscale was fairly low in both Polish samples.

Table 8 presents means and standard deviations for the dimensions of the extended ASI in Sample 2 (Polish adults), Sample 3 (Polish students) and Sample 4 (US adults). Descriptive statistics revealed that overall extended ASI scores were around the 4.0 midpoint of the scale (the only exception was HS in the American sample). What is noteworthy, means were on average lower in the US sample than in both Polish samples (which is in line with previous results, Forbes et al., 2004). Within the samples, means for benevolent subscales were higher than for HS, also consistent with previous evidence (Glick et al., 2000). Endorsement of aesthetic beliefs was especially high in the sample of Polish adults, slightly lower in the student sample, and relatively low in the American sample (cf. Forbes et al., 2004). Still, however, a reasonably large standard deviation indicated that a fair share of participants endorsed aesthetic beliefs. Endorsement of motherhood beliefs was the highest among Polish adults, and comparable in the two remaining samples.

Table 8

Means and standard deviations for the extended ASI subscales across the samples

Subscale	Sample 2	Sample 3	Sample 4
Protective Paternalism	4.74 (1.36)	4.13 (1.55)	4.10 (1.63)
Heterosexual Intimacy	4.41 (1.81)	3.68 (1.82)	3.68 (1.61)
Complementary Gender Differentiation	4.42 (1.48)	4.68 (1.82)	3.70 (1.49)
Motherhood Beliefs	4.04 (1.65)	3.64 (1.66)	3.74 (1.62)
Aesthetic Beliefs	4.78 (1.56)	4.16 (1.62)	3.23 (1.52)
Hostile Sexism	3.84 (1.25)	3.61 (1.21)	2.89 (1.27)

Next, differences between genders in the mean scores of the extended ASI were tested (see Table 9). Previous evidence indicated that the level of endorsement of sexism varies with age and education (Gaunt, 2012; Glick et al., 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), thus data from Sample 2 (Polish adults) and Sample 3 (Polish students) were analyzed separately and compared with data from Sample 4 (American adults).

Table 9

Extended ASI mean scores for men and women

	PP	HI	CGD	M	Ae	HS
Sample 2						
Women	4.46 (1.44)	4.01 (1.89)	4.51 (1.68)	3.64 (1.67)	4.44 (1.75)	3.34 (1.13)
Men	4.99 (1.23)	4.75 (1.66)	4.32 (1.27)	4.48 (1.50)	5.06 (1.28)	4.32 (1.15)
t	2.46*	2.57*	0.75	3.26**	2.54*	5.27**
d	.40	.42	.13	.53	.40	.86
Sample 3						
Women	3.93 (1.56)	3.55 (1.81)	4.70 (1.40)	3.42 (1.67)	4.01 (1.59)	3.46 (1.17)
Men	4.57 (1.42)	3.94 (1.79)	4.62 (1.38)	4.14 (1.53)	4.51 (1.63)	3.98 (1.23)
t	4.05**	2.12*	0.57	4.27**	2.98**	4.24**
d	.43	.22	.06	.45	.27	.43
Sample 4						
Women	3.86 (1.62)	3.55 (1.64)	3.66 (1.54)	3.60 (1.69)	3.03 (1.57)	2.62 (1.22)
Men	4.40 (1.61)	3.85 (1.55)	3.74 (1.43)	3.92 (1.53)	3.49 (1.42)	3.22 (1.26)
t	2.94**	1.63	0.51	1.74	2.72**	4.36**
d	.33	.19	.05	.20	.31	.48

Note. PP - protective paternalism, HI - heterosexual intimacy, CGD - complementary gender differentiation, M - motherhood beliefs, AE - aesthetic beliefs, HS - hostile sexism;
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

In line with previous evidence (e.g. Glick et al., 2000, Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), men scored higher than women on most of the analyzed dimensions of sexism, and differences between genders were greatest for HS. This effect was especially strong among Polish adults; in the two remaining samples, effects were close to the conventions for a medium size effect (d = .50). Gender differences in motherhood beliefs were moderate in both Polish samples, and weak in the American sample. Differences in aesthetic beliefs were moderate among Polish adults, slightly lower in the two remaining samples. Differences in means for men and women were non-significant for CGD. Similar to motherhood beliefs, gender differences in HI were more pronounced in the Polish adult sample than in the other two samples. Finally, endorsement of PP was consistently higher among men than among women.

Relationships with established measures of sexism. Following the factor analyses, construct validity of the extended ASI was tested with data from Sample 2 (Polish adults) and Sample 4 (American adults). Construct validity was assessed by examining correlations between the extended ASI subscales and other established measures of sexism (cf. Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Kline, 2000). Specifically, three constructs widely used in the literature were assessed: Attitudes toward Women Scale (ATWS; Spence, et al., 1973), which contains statements about normative expectations concerning the rights and roles of women in different areas of social life (e.g. professional, educational, sexual); Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995), which measures endorsement of traditional gender roles and stereotypes about the lesser competence of women (old-fashioned sexism), and covert instances of indirect sexism, such as backlash against the postulates and policies proposed by the women's movement, and denial of gender discrimination (modern sexism); and Gender-specific version of the System Justification

Scale (gsSJ; Jost & Kay, 2005), which measures perceived legitimacy of the current state of gender relations, for example with respect to division of work between men and women.

In the Polish version, a shortened version of the ATWS was used (4 items; e.g., "Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to go to college than daughters"; $M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.79$, $\alpha = .56$), along with 10 items of the Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (6+4 items; e.g., "It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television", "Women are generally not as smart as men"; $M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.84$, $\alpha = .78$ for modern sexism and $M = 2.79$, $SD = 0.74$, $\alpha = .50$ for old-fashioned sexism, respectively), and 9 items measuring gsSJ (e.g., "In general, relations between men and women are fair"; $M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.24$, $\alpha = .68$). Original ranges were retained for all scales: 1 – *strongly disagree*; 5 – *strongly agree* for ATWS and MS, and 1 – *strongly disagree*; 9 – *strongly agree* for gsSJ.

In the US version, the full version of the modern sexism subscale from the Modern and Old-Fashioned Sexism scale was used (8 items; $M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.05$, $\alpha = .75$), together with a shortened version of ATWS (4 items; $M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.02$; $\alpha = .68$), and a shortened version of gsSJ (3 items; $M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.52$, $\alpha = .85$). Participants provided their answers on a 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree* response scale.

Table 10 presents correlations of the extended ASI subscales with other measures of sexism in both samples. In line with previous evidence (Glick & Fiske, 1996), old-fashioned sexism was more strongly related to HS than to any of the BS subscales ($ps < .05$). It was also significantly, yet weakly linked to HI and aesthetic beliefs subscales. The remaining BS subscales were unrelated to old-fashioned sexism. (In the original set of studies, old-fashioned sexism correlated weakly with the BS subscale, $r = .24$ [Glick & Fiske, 1996].)

Consistent with previous findings (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hayes & Swim, 2013), MS was moderately linked to HS in the American sample. The correlation was lower in the Polish

sample (z = 2.95, p = .002). With the exception of CGD (and PP in the Polish sample), all subscales of BS were linked to MS in similar magnitude (*ps* > .05).

Table 10

Relationships between the extended ASI subscales and other measures of sexism

	Old-fashioned Sexism		Modern Sexism		ATWS		gsSJ	
	PL	US	PL	US	PL	US	PL	US
PP	.09	-	.13	.38**	.16	.34**	.15	.37**
HI	.17*	-	.25**	.30**	.34**	.41**	.24**	.37**
CGD	.06	-	.05	.12	.08	.30**	.10	.27**
M	.13	-	.22**	.39**	.31**	.50**	.34**	.41**
Ae	.20*	-	.37**	.36**	.28**	.50**	.30**	.49**
HS	.39**	-	.26**	.54**	.40**	.54**	.19*	.41**

Note. ATWS – Attitudes Toward Women Scale, gsSJ – Gender-specific System Justification Scale, PP - protective paternalism, HI - heterosexual intimacy, CGD - complementary gender differentiation, M - motherhood beliefs, AE - aesthetic beliefs, HS - hostile sexism;
PL: results in the Polish sample (Sample 2; N = 156); US: results in the American sample (Sample 4 N = 319);
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Again, in line with previous evidence (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Hayes & Swim, 2013), all subscales of the extended ASI were moderately linked to ATWS in the American sample. In the Polish sample, however, PP and CGD were unrelated to ATWS.

Finally, gsSJ was moderately linked to all subscales of the extended ASI in the American sample, and was linked to both newly proposed dimensions in the Polish sample. (Of the three original dimensions, however, it was only significantly linked to HI.) Thus, similar to the original dimensions of BS (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005; Sibley, Overall, & Duckitt, 2007; Sibley & Perry, 2010), motherhood and aesthetic beliefs might serve as legitimizing ideologies for gender inequalities and hostility towards women. In

Chapter IV of the thesis, I will address the issue of how endorsement of these beliefs among women can sustain inequalities in status between the genders.

Overall, although the extended ASI explores issues related to other established constructs assessing sexism and perceptions of gender discrimination (as indicated by positive correlations), both the original and the newly proposed dimensions were clearly distinct from existing measures of sexism.

It is noteworthy that, of the three original dimensions of BS, only one was significantly linked to other measures of sexism in Poland. As already indicated by other indices, this might suggest that the way the original ASI is operationalized does not capture ambivalent attitudes in the Polish and, potentially, in other cultural contexts. One needs to be aware however, that all measures that were used for comparison were developed in the American context and scarce evidence from previous studies conducted in Poland indicates they might not be directly admissible (cf. Pietrzak & Mikolajczak, 2015).

Relationships with different facets of gender identity. In the next step, relationships between the endorsement of extended ASI among women and the strength of different aspects of gender identity were examined. As shown in the previous part of this chapter, although women are more likely to renounce HS, their opposition to BS is weaker. This result supports the argument that BS beliefs can be experienced by women as positive and are considered as less detrimental than HS (cf. Glick et al., 2000). Previous studies indicate that women reject BS and HS especially when they are highly identified with their gender group, thus are concerned about the well-being of other in-group members, and have internalized progressive content of gender identity (Becker & Wagner, 2009), which is associated with a preference for more egalitarian gender relations (e.g. Cameron & Lalonde, 2001). In contrast, women who are highly identified and have internalized traditional content of gender identity are more likely to endorse BS and HS. Weak identification with the female

ingroup, regardless of its content, does not impact endorsement of BS and HS. In the following analyses, I was interested in verifying whether these relationships pertain to the newly proposed dimensions of ASI.

Additionally, given the importance of motherhood inscribed in the motherhood beliefs subscale, strength of identification as a mother was assessed among participants who declared having children, and strength of motherly identity was assessed among participants who declared childlessness. These links were examined in a sample of American women (N = 79, Sample 8).

Measures.

Gender identity. Strength of gender identity was assessed with 10 items adapted from Leach et al., 2008 (e.g., "Being a woman is an important part of how I see myself"; M = 4.97, SD = 0.96, scale range 1-7, α = .87).

Next, participants were asked to what extent they identified with different subgroups of women, which were grouped into two factors (based on principal axis analysis with the oblimin rotation, eigenvalues > 1):

Identity with traditional subtypes. (3 items: traditional women, homemakers, women who are family oriented; M = 4.20, SD = 1.66, scale range 1-7, α = .86)

Identity with progressive subtypes. (4 items: progressive women, feminists, women who embrace non-traditional roles, women who are career-oriented; M = 5.06, SD = 1.30, scale range 1-7, α = .81).

Identity as a mother. Identity as a mother was measured with 10 items adapted from Leach et al., 2008 (e.g., "Being a mother is an important part of how I see myself"; M = 4.47, SD = 1.11, scale range 1-7, α = .93). The scale was displayed to women in the study who declared to be mothers (n = 30).

Motherly identity of non-mothers. (10 items adapted from Leach et al., 2008 (e.g., "Although I am not a mother, being a mother is an important part of how I see myself"; M = 3.49, SD = 1.31, scale range 1-7, α = .91). The scale was displayed to women who declared they did not have children (n = 47).

Extended ASI. BS (M = 3.56, SD = 1.39, α = .87) and HS (M = 2.69, SD = 1.38, α = .92) were measured with 5 items each (cf. New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, Reid & Sibley, 2009), thus analyses below are presented for the composite measure of BS. Motherhood beliefs (M = 3.16, SD = 1.55, α = .87) and aesthetic beliefs (M = 2.96, SD = 1.22, α = .78) were measured with 3 items each.

Table 11

Correlations between sexism and gender identity (US)

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Aesthetic Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Identity as a woman	.33*	.30*	.26*	.10
Identity with traditional subtypes	.49**	.76**	.38**	.39**
Identity with progressive subtypes	-.35*	-.60**	-.37**	-.40**

Note. *p < .05, **p < .001

Analysis revealed that female participants who identified more strongly with their gender were also more likely to endorse BS, but not HS (see Table 11). Similarly to BS, both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs were positively related to the strength of gender identification. These results indicate that women consider motherhood and aesthetic beliefs as

important elements of womanhood. The fact that women are willing to endorse such beliefs suggests also that they consider them to be beneficial.

Furthermore, all dimensions of sexism were positively linked to identity with traditional subtypes. This link was slightly greater for BS than for aesthetic beliefs and HS and particularly strong for motherhood beliefs (note: "mothers" were not included among the traditional subtypes, only family-oriented women). These results support Glick and Fiske's (1996) argument that BS taps into traditional beliefs about women that are positive in tone, thus women are willing to endorse. Similarly, all dimensions of sexism were negatively linked to identity with progressive subtypes. Again, correlation between motherhood beliefs and progressive identity was the strongest (and negative) for motherhood beliefs. These results shed some light on the possible link between the extended ASI and collective action intentions among women. Previous studies (Becker & Wagner, 2009) have demonstrated that women identifying as traditional were less likely to support collective action on behalf of women, regardless of how strongly they identified with their ingroup. I will come back to this issue when addressing the role of the extended ASI in suppressing social change.

Similar results were found in Poland in a sample of female students (Kofta, Soral, Kwiatkowska, Kapusta, & Mikołajczak, 2015), in which the extended ASI was measured together with preference for traditional and progressive female roles. In that study, BS, motherhood beliefs, and aesthetic beliefs were positively linked to preference for the traditional gender role (all correlations were relatively strong, approx. $r = .60$), and the correlation with HS was slightly lower ($r = .42$). Additionally, motherhood beliefs, but not BS, HS, nor aesthetic beliefs, were negatively linked to a preference for the progressive gender role ($r = -.32$). In contrast to the American sample, no significant relationship between sexism and overall gender identity was found in this study.

Next, I tested correlations between dimensions of sexism, identity as a mother and motherly identity of non-mothers (see Table 12). Female participants who were mothers and identified with mothers as a group were also more likely to endorse motherhood beliefs. Strength of identity as a mother was unrelated to other dimensions of sexism. Female participants who were childless, but identified with mothers as a group were similarly likely to endorse motherhood beliefs as were mothers. Stronger motherly identity among non-mothers was also linked to greater support for the other dimensions of sexism: BS, HS, as well as aesthetic beliefs.

Table 12

Correlations between sexism and identity with mothers (US)

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Aesthetic Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Identity as a mother	.23	.57**	.12	.19
Motherly identity of non-mothers	.46**	.56**	.50**	.31*

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Discussion – Validity of the Extended Measure

To sum up, confirmatory factor analysis in samples from two countries indicated that the proposed model fits data well, supporting the theoretical arguments for validity of the additional factors. As indicated by a comparison of the model fits of the preferred vs. the alternative models, the two newly proposed dimensions can be considered as part of ambivalent sexism. At the same time, they are distinct from the original dimensions proposed by Glick and Fiske. Moreover, the proposed scales proved to have satisfactory face validity, sufficient internal consistency, and the observed mean levels indicated that they are endorsed

both by students and working adults, in Poland and in the United States. Although in the latter group the mean levels were somewhat lower, this pattern of results is in line with previous findings for the original ASI (Forbes et al., 2004). Similar to the original dimensions of BS, across the analyzed samples, both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs were more strongly endorsed by men than by women, yet these differences were smaller than for HS. Additionally, women who identified with their gender ingroup more strongly were also more willing to endorse BS as well as motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, but not HS, to a greater extent. These results suggest that women consider both the original and the newly proposed dimensions as less detrimental than hostile attitudes. Finally, the two newly proposed dimensions were positively, but only weakly or moderately related to other established measures of sexism. All these qualities suggest that they are conceptually adequate and statistically sound measures.

At the same time, only two out of the three original BS dimensions, namely PP and HI, showed satisfactory properties (although some minor shortcomings for the PP in the Polish samples also emerged, i.e. low reliability in Sample 2, lack of significant link to MS and ATWS). The CGD factor was the odd one out in the Polish sample in terms of the secondary factor loading, the strength of correlations with other benevolent subscales (especially among Polish men), differences between genders (unlike with other dimensions, men were as unwilling to endorse it as were women), and subscale reliability. Moreover, it was not related to any of the established measures of sexism. These results support the initial conjecture that CGD might not reflect BS well in the Polish context.

A possible limitation to the observed results was that, although the analyzed samples were collected in two cultural contexts and were fairly diverse in terms of age and education, they were not representative for the population at large. I address these shortcomings in detail in Chapter IV.

Predictive Validity

Subsequently, in correlational and experimental studies with Polish and American participants, I tested the links between the proposed dimensions and other beliefs relevant to evaluations of women. The aim of the studies was to demonstrate and discuss the predictive validity of aesthetic and motherhood beliefs. Across the studies I tried to focus on vital issues concerning women, their rights and roles in the contemporary society, both in the public and in the private domain. The topics included a broad array of domains including reproductive rights, unpaid labor of women, self-objectification, sexual and domestic violence, and willingness of women to participate in social protest either supporting their rights or preserving the gender status quo.

Analytical approach. For all analyses I provide bivariate correlations between BS, motherhood and/or aesthetic beliefs, HS, and the variables of interest, first. Next, I provide results of stepwise regressions to highlight the unique contribution of motherhood and aesthetic beliefs in explaining the variance of dependent variables of interest. In each regression equation BS (a composite measure of the three original dimensions) is entered in the first step, motherhood or aesthetic beliefs in the second, and HS in the third step. The rationale for this approach was to be able to demonstrate whether the original BS dimensions predict a given construct (step 1), to verify whether motherhood/aesthetic beliefs predict anything over the established dimensions of BS (step 2), finally to verify whether these effects hold when controlling for HS (step 3).

Unlike in the previous analyses, a composite BS measure was used here instead of three separate measures for each of the three original dimensions of BS. This decision was made due to collinearity concerns (in line with expectations, correlations between the benevolent subscales were fairly high), and to preserve consistency in the analyses (in one of the analyzed studies – Sample 8 – only the short 10-item version of ASI was administered,

thus it would be impossible to tease apart the subscales). For similar reasons, the available data did not allow for the additional comparison of predictive validity of BS composed of the three original dimensions versus BS composed of all five subscales (thus including both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs) in all samples. However, as the main goal of the current analyses was to assess the size of the unique contribution of motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, respectively, this shortcoming had no impact on the scope of inferences drawn from the analyses.

Motherhood Beliefs

Abortion attitudes. Reproductive rights of women are part of ongoing discussions in many countries, as individuals with different political and religious worldviews vary greatly in their opinions regarding this topic (e.g., Harris & Mills, 1985). As a consequence, topics such as access to sexual education and contraceptives, infertility treatment, in vitro fertilization, admissibility of abortion, cervix and breast cancer prevention are often politicized (Czerwińska & Piotrowska, 2009). The current study focused on abortion attitudes, which in some countries are subject to the most heated debates (e.g., Ginsburg, 1998; Graff, 2000).

A crucial distinction in previous research considering abortion has been made between elective and the so-called traumatic abortion (Cook, Jelen, & Wilcox, 1992; Mikołajczak & Bilewicz, 2015; Osborne & Davies, 2012). Elective abortion is usually motivated by nonmedical, optional concerns (e.g., when a woman does not want children), while the decision to undergo traumatic abortion is motivated mainly by medical reasons (e.g., because of fetus malformation) or legal reasons (e.g. pregnancy resulting from rape or incest). Previous evidence from the United States indicates that opposition to elective abortion is predicted by both HS and BS, but support for traumatic abortion is only predicted

by BS (Osborne & Davies, 2012). Slightly different results were obtained in New Zealand: BS was negatively linked to support for both elective and traumatic abortion (Huang, Osborne, Sibley, & Davies, 2014), while HS was linked only to opposition to traumatic abortion. Importantly, these effects remained robust when controlling for demographic factors, including conservatism.

The aim of the current study was to explore the link between endorsement of motherhood beliefs and abortion attitudes. Specifically, it was hypothesized that motherhood beliefs would explain abortion attitudes over and beyond BS and HS. Since motherhood beliefs prescribe women to be nurturing mothers, they were expected to predict opposition to elective abortion, but not necessarily traumatic abortion. These hypotheses were tested in a Polish (N = 965, Sample 5) and an American sample (N = 311, Sample 4).

Polish sample – Measures.

Abortion attitudes. Three items from the standard questions used in public opinion polls in Poland about abortion (Public Opinion Research Center, 2011) were used. Participants were asked whether they think abortion should be allowed by law in the case when: pregnancy endangers a woman's life (M = 5.87, SD = 1.86), pregnancy endangers a woman's physical health (M = 5.53, SD = 1.98), a woman doesn't want a child (M = 3.07, SD = 2.29). Participants provided their answers on a scale from 1 – *definitely disagree* to 7 – *definitely agree*. Traumatic abortion was computed as the average score from the first two items (M = 5.87, SD = 1.86, $r(892) = .80$, $p < .001$). Elective abortion was measured with the third item. The overlap between acceptance of traumatic and elective abortion was fairly low ($r(865) = .30$, $p < .001$), which attests to the discriminant validity of the two constructs.

Motherhood beliefs. Motherhood beliefs were measured with two items: "A woman's most important role is that of a mother" and "Child-rearing is a woman's most important path to fulfillment", items were averaged, M = 5.04, SD = 1.82, $r(935) = .78$, $p < .001$. As

questions on abortion attitudes and motherhood beliefs were embedded in a nation-wide survey measuring attitudes toward different groups, BS and HS subscales were not measured.

Results. Analyses revealed that the correlation between motherhood beliefs and admissibility of traumatic abortion was negative and significant, but small in size $r(911) = -.08$, $p = .011$. The correlation between motherhood beliefs and admissibility of elective abortion was negative and medium in size (see Cohen, 1988), $r(879) = -.32$, $p < .001$. Crucially, the effect of motherhood beliefs on admissibility of elective abortion remained significant when controlling for social conservatism and religiosity, $\beta = -.22$, $p < .001$. The weak effect of motherhood beliefs on admissibility of traumatic abortion became non-significant when social conservatism and religiosity were controlled for, $\beta = -.01$, $p = .834$.

American sample – Measures.

Abortion attitudes. Four items from the standard questions used in public opinion polls about abortion in the United States were used (e.g., Gallup, 2002). Participants were asked whether they think abortion should be allowed by law in the case when: the woman's life is at risk ($M = 6.08$, $SD = 1.57$), the woman's physical health is endangered ($M = 5.97$, $SD = 1.59$), the woman cannot afford to raise a child ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 2.22$), and the woman doesn't want a child ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 2.24$). Participants provided their answers on a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree*. The two former items, tapping into traumatic abortion ($M = 6.03$, $SD = 1.55$, $r(310) = .93$, $p < .001$), and the two latter items tapping into elective abortion ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 2.17$, $r(310) = .90$, $p < .001$) were averaged. The correlation between the scales was moderate, $r(310) = .54$, $p < .001$) Thus, consistent with previous studies (e.g., Mikołajczak & Bilewicz, 2015; Osborne & Davies, 2012), they were analyzed as two separate constructs.

Extended ASI. The following sexism subscales were assessed: BS (9 items, $M = 3.82$, $SD = 1.33$, $\alpha = .89$), HS (10 items, $M = 2.89$, $SD = 1.27$, $\alpha = .93$), and motherhood beliefs (3 items, $M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.62$, $\alpha = .83$).

Results. Table 13 presents correlations between sexism and admissibility of abortion. All dimensions of sexism were negatively, but fairly weakly (all *rs* < .30) related to admissibility of traumatic abortion. Admissibility of elective abortion was also negatively linked to endorsement of sexism, but the strength of the relationships differed. For HS the correlation was similarly weak as for traumatic abortion. For BS and motherhood beliefs the correlations were moderate in strength.

Table 13

Correlations between sexist attitudes and attitudes toward abortion (US)

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Admissibility of traumatic abortion	-.18**	-.25**	-.21**
Admissibility of elective abortion	-.39**	-.48**	-.24**

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

An analysis of regression revealed that motherhood beliefs predicted opposition to traumatic abortion over and beyond BS (Table 14). Moreover, upon introducing motherhood beliefs into equation, the effect of BS ceased to be significant. Motherhood beliefs remained a significant predictor of traumatic abortion attitudes also when controlling for HS. The unique variance in admissibility of traumatic abortion explained by motherhood beliefs was significant, but relatively small. An additional analysis indicated that the effect of

motherhood beliefs became non-significant when controlling for more robust predictors of abortion attitudes, social conservatism and religiosity, β = -.02, *p* = .809.

Table 14

Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of attitudes toward traumatic abortion (US)

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	-.18**	-.04	-.02
Motherhood Beliefs		-.23*	-.18*
Hostile Sexism			-.10
F	10.59*	10.46**	7.87**
ΔR^2	.03*	.03*	.01

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*p <.05, **p < .001

Similarly, a regression analysis revealed that motherhood beliefs predicted opposition to elective abortion over and beyond BS (Table 15). Upon introducing motherhood beliefs into equation, the effect of BS was still significant, but smaller in size than in an equation not controlling for motherhood beliefs. Motherhood beliefs remained a significant predictor of elective abortion attitudes also when controlling for HS, which did not increase the explained variance. The unique variance in admissibility of elective abortion explained by motherhood beliefs was larger than for traumatic abortion. What is more, an additional analysis indicated that the effect of motherhood beliefs on admissibility of elective abortion remained significant when controlling for robust predictors of abortion attitudes, social conservatism and religiosity, β = -.18, *p* = .007.

Table 15

Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of attitudes toward elective abortion (US)

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	-.36**	-.15*	-.15*
Motherhood Beliefs		-.38**	-.39**
Hostile Sexism			.02
F	56.16**	48.58**	32.35**
ΔR^2	.15**	.09**	.00

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*p <.05, **p < .001

Discussion. Results from two large samples collected in two cultural contexts showed a significant link between motherhood beliefs and opposition to legal admissibility of abortion. As expected, greater endorsement of motherhood beliefs was linked to greater opposition to elective abortion, that is, abortion performed for non-legal and non-medical concerns. In both samples this effect held true also when controlling for conservatism and religiosity, thus could not be attributed only to the traditional worldview. Moreover, in the American sample, the effect of motherhood beliefs remained significant when controlling for BS and HS. Motherhood beliefs were thus linked to opposition to elective abortion independent of the originally conceptualized BS.

The link between motherhood beliefs and opposition to traumatic abortion was substantially smaller in both samples and became non-significant upon controlling for conservatism and religiosity. Thus, endorsement of motherhood beliefs was not linked to a stiff opposition to all forms of abortion, but only to those cases in which a woman intentionally steps outside of the prescriptive norm.

Self-sacrifice. According to official statistics, roughly 25% women in Europe experience a form of domestic violence (Council of Europe, 2002). For almost half of them (i.e. 6-10% of all women), the violence comes from their partners. Within the United States, roughly 1.3 million women are physically abused by their partners (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000). Previous evidence suggests that attitudes toward wife beating are related to patriarchy and gender inequalities (e.g., Smith, 1990; Sugarman & Frankel, 1996). BS and HS were found to be positively correlated with attitudes legitimizing wife abuse (Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira, & de Souza, 2002). Although in some cases, BS has a protective effect against men's violence toward partners (Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2009), the ostensible protectiveness of BS is contingent on whether women conform to traditional gender roles. Previous evidence indicates that benevolent and hostile sexists are more likely to minimize domestic violence. In addition, benevolent sexists are more likely to blame the victim (Yamawaki, Ostenson, & Brown, 2009).

Some authors have suggested that cultural values emphasizing female loyalty and sacrifice may indirectly sanction relationship violence and reward women who remain in abusive relationships (Vandello, Cohen, Grandon, & Franiuk, 2009). The aim of the study was to explore whether motherhood beliefs (particularly their "self-sacrificing" component), can be linked to such sacrificing attitudes among women. It was predicted that motherhood beliefs might indirectly "justify" violence, and explain why domestic violence remains underreported. Due to the expected desirability bias, the sacrifice required on the side of the woman was presented in a gradual fashion. The hypotheses were tested in a sample of American adults (N = 155, Sample 4).

Measures.

"Sacrificing" attitudes. Three items tapping into the self-sacrificing notion were created for the purpose of the current study. Participants were asked to what extent they

agreed a woman should stay in a relationship for the sake of the kids if the husband/partner is a good father, but: "the relationship is falling apart" (*M* = 2.82, *SD* = 1.69), "he is cheating on her" (*M* = 2.23, *SD* = 1.38), or "he is abusive towards her" (*M* = 1.55, *SD* = 1.09). Participants provided their answers on a scale from 1 – *definitely disagree* to 7 – *definitely agree*). As the correlation between the items was substantially high, they were averaged to form a "Sacrifice" scale (*M* = 2.20, *SD* = 1.16, α = .77).

Extended ASI. BS (9 items, *M* = 3.72, *SD* = 1.35, α = .90), HS (10 items, *M* = 2.90, *SD* = 1.27, α = .93), and motherhood beliefs (3 items, *M* = 3.68, *SD* = 1.59, α = .83) were assessed.

***Results*.** Table 16 shows correlations between sexism and sacrificing beliefs regarding women in relationships. For exploratory purposes, I present correlations both for the composite measure and single items used to create the "sacrifice" scale.

Table 16

Correlations between sexism and "sacrificing" attitudes

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
"Sacrifice"	.29**	.44**	.51**
relationship is falling apart	.33**	.47**	.41**
partner is cheating	.18*	.29**	.41**
partner is abusive	.19*	.31**	.46**

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

As indicated, the correlation between the composite measure and motherhood beliefs, and HS was moderate. For BS the link was somewhat lower. When looking at specific items it can be shown that the strength of correlation for HS is comparable across the items. For BS

and motherhood beliefs the strength of relationships differs: the correlation was the strongest in the case when the relationship which is falling apart and the weakest in the case when the partner is abusive.

An analysis of regression revealed that motherhood beliefs predicted sacrificing attitudes over and beyond BS (Table 17). Moreover, upon introducing motherhood beliefs into the equation, the effect of BS ceased to be significant. Motherhood beliefs remained a significant predictor of sacrificing attitudes also when controlling for HS. The unique variance in sacrificing attitudes explained by motherhood beliefs amounted to 11%.

Table 17

Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of "sacrificing" attitudes

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.29**	.02	-.03
Motherhood Beliefs		.43**	.24*
Hostile Sexism			.38**
F	14.23**	18.28**	20.68**
ΔR^2	.09**	.11**	.10*

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*p <.05, **p < .001

Discussion. Results of the current study provide evidence that motherhood beliefs can be linked to sacrificing attitudes over and beyond BS. Importantly, motherhood beliefs were linked to these attitudes independent of HS. These initial results can help explain why some women remain in relationships that are not satisfactory to them at the cost of their mental and even physical well-being. In this respect, motherhood beliefs can serve as an indirect justification for domestic violence and explain why, in addition to previously recognized

psychological motives, some battered women might choose to stay in such relationships, putting the well-being of their children first.

Second-shift expectations. The "second-shift" (Hochschild & Machung, 2003) is a phenomenon showing how discrimination can be quantified by the time spent performing routine non-paid activities related to childcare and household chores. Women who enter the job market are expected to continue performing duties related to childcare and homecare. There is no such expectation for men, whose "home" responsibilities tend to be limited to non-routine activities. This phenomenon is borne out by statistics showing that women in OECD countries spend almost twice as many hours on unpaid, household-related work than do men (OECD, 2014). This is not balanced out by time spent performing paid labor: women work for pay about 65% as much time as men do.

Previous evidence from the United States (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997) shows that expectations toward a "good" parent depend on the gender of said parent. Participants in the study were asked to evaluate target parents as either good or bad, depending on a list of behaviors they displayed. Results indicated that both parents were evaluated in a similar way with respect to particular behaviors. A difference was observed however in the frequency and quality of the enacted behaviors. By defining, for example, how much time a good father or a good mother should talk to a child on an everyday basis, participants referred to different parental role stereotypes for men and women. These expectations were higher for women.

The aim of the current study was to replicate previous findings in the Polish context and to explore the moderating role of motherhood beliefs in expectations toward an ideal family member. Participants were Polish adults (Sample 6).

Design. A 2 (male vs. female target) x 2 (employee vs. family member) between-participant design was employed. Participants evaluated a fictional character, either Anna: as an employee (n = 25) or as a family member (n = 35) or Piotr: as an employee (n = 17) or as a

family member (n = 27)[v]. As no differences were observed in the working context, subsequent analyses reported here pertain only to the domestic domain[vi].

Measures. Based on a pilot study (N = 12), a list of measurable activities that a perfect employee/ family member should perform was compiled. Participants were provided with a list of 13 activities and were asked to indicate how many times a week an ideal family member should perform them. As participants provided answers in an open-ended format, the scale range differed for each item. Thus, prior to analyses all variables were standardized. Three factors of activities emerged (based on exploratory factor analysis with principal axis factoring, oblimin rotation, criteria: eigenvalue > 1, minimum three items with the primary loading > .40, no substantial cross-loadings, > .32):

Household chores. Expectations concerning household chores was a composite measure based on six items: dusts furniture, swipes the floor, vacuums, does the laundry, irons clothes, shops for groceries (M = 0, SD = 0.76, min = -1.12, max = 1.73, α = .85).

Meals and cooking. Expectations concerning meals and cooking was a composite measure based on three items: prepares breakfast for the family, prepares supper, and cooks dinner (M = 0, SD = 0.85, min = -1.65, max = 1.39, α = .81).

Leisure time. Expectations concerning leisure time was a composite measure based on three items: spends their free time with friends, spends time on their hobby, and devotes their free time to themselves (M = 1.57, SD = 1.07, min = -1.38, max = 2.88, α = .75).

Motherhood beliefs. Motherhood beliefs were measured with two items (M = 4.30, SD = 1.57, r(100) = .75, p < .001). BS and HS subscales were not administered in this study[vii].

Results. Across the sample, motherhood beliefs were unrelated to expectations that a perfect family member would perform household chores, r(58) = -.01, p = .985, nor that they would prepare meals and cook, r(58) = .01, p = .975, nor that they would keep their leisure time to themselves, r(58) = -.18, p = .162.

A set of pair-wise comparisons with the use of t-tests (Table 18) indicated that participants held different expectations toward the female and the male target person, in terms of the amount of time spent on household chores, and meals and cooking. Both effects were large in size. No differences in expectations concerning leisure time were found.

Table 18

Differences in expectations for an ideal family member

	Household Chores	Meals and Cooking	Leisure Time
Woman	0.38 (1.03)	0.52 (0.77)	-0.11 (0.70)
Man	-0.52 (0.70)	-0.69 (0.84)	0.15 (1.30)
t	3.85**	5.74**	-1.04
d	1.00	1.60	.27

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .001$

Next, to test the interaction effect of the gender of the family member and motherhood beliefs, a series of moderation analyses with the use of the PROCESS macro (Model 1; Hayes, 2013) was performed. Results were computed using a heteroskedasticity-consistent standard error estimator (Hayes & Cai, 2007). For each analysis 10,000 bootstrap samples were requested. For each equation, coefficients for simple slopes at the –1 SD (low motherhood beliefs) and at the +1 SD (high motherhood beliefs) are provided. Additionally, using the Johnson-Neyman's technique (e.g., Hayes, 2013), which identifies values of a continuous moderator where the conditional effect of an independent variable on the dependent variable is significant, exact values of motherhood beliefs at which the effect of the target family member's gender on the respective dependent variable was significant are provided.

For expectations concerning household chores, the analysis revealed a significant interaction between the target's gender and motherhood beliefs, $b = 0.25$, $SE = .12$, $p = .043$. As predicted, participants high in motherhood beliefs expected greater input from an ideal woman than from an ideal man ($b = 1.32$, $SE = .32$, $p < .001$) (Figure 4). In contrast, participants low in motherhood beliefs held similar expectations toward an ideal woman and an ideal man ($b = .37$, $SE = .33$, $p = .256$). This effect was significant for moderator values of 3.17 and above, indicating participants with moderate and high motherhood beliefs.

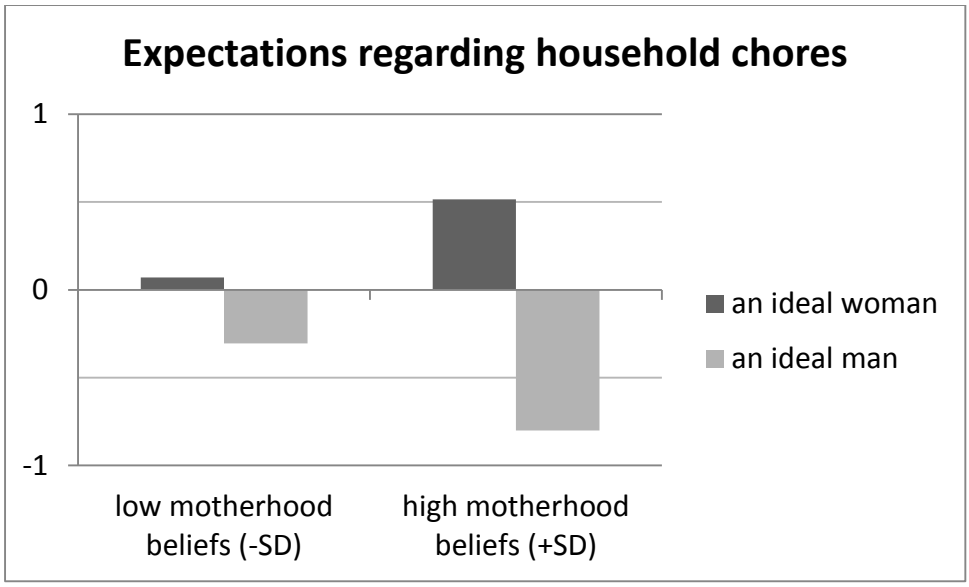

Figure 4. Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of second-shift expectations (household chores)

Likewise, an analysis for expectations regarding preparing meals and cooking revealed a significant interaction between the target's gender and motherhood beliefs, $b = 0.31$, $SE = .11$, $p = .005$. As predicted, participants high in motherhood beliefs expected more from an ideal woman than from an ideal man ($b = 1.78$, $SE = .28$, $p < .001$) (Figure 5). In contrast, participants low in motherhood beliefs held higher expectations toward an ideal woman than toward an ideal man only at the tendency level ($b = 0.58$, $SE = .30$, $p = .062$). The standardized regression coefficients amounted to $\beta = 1.31$, $p < .001$ and $\beta = 0.37$, $p =$

.277, respectively. Again, the effect was significant for moderator values of 2.54 and above, indicating participants with moderate and high motherhood beliefs.

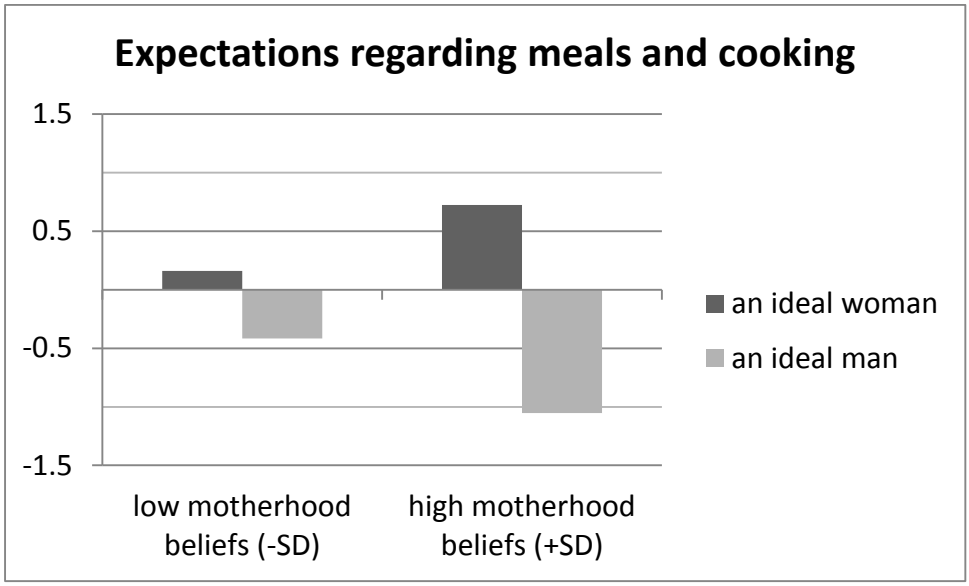

Figure 5. Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of second-shift expectations (meals and cooking)

No significant interaction of the target person gender and motherhood beliefs was found for leisure time expectations.

Discussion. Replicating previous findings (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1997), participants in the study expected more—in terms of household chores and cooking—from an ideal woman than from an ideal man in the domestic domain. Crucially, these expectations were moderated by motherhood beliefs: the more strongly participants believed in the importance of motherhood for women, the more they assumed an ideal woman should devote more time to unpaid work than should an ideal man. It appears then that admiration and celebration of women as mothers leads to an expectation that they will, in fact, be able to perform all duties involved in both the professional and the private realms (cf. Sokołowska, 1963; Titkow, Duch-Krzysztoszek, & Budrowska, 2004). Contrary to expectations, no differences were found in expectations concerning leisure time. This result seems to contradict the notion that women should undergo a heroic sacrifice, ignoring their personal

needs. Still, however, they align with the superwoman syndrome (Shaevitz, 1984) – the expectation that a woman will be active in paid employment, and run the household, and that she will excel in both (see also Newell, 1993, 1996).

One potential limitation of the current study was that neither BS nor HS were measured. Future studies should assess whether the link between motherhood beliefs and second-shift expectations for women is independent from the originally conceptualized dimensions of ASI.

Consequences of motherhood beliefs – Discussion

The three studies presented here underscore the role of the motherhood beliefs across different domains: reproductive rights, interpersonal relationships and second-shift expectations. Motherhood beliefs proved to be a potent predictor of attitudes, both in Poland and in the United States. Crucially, these relationships were independent of originally conceptualized BS and HS. Overall, these results highlight the unique role of motherhood beliefs in confining women to traditional roles, restricting their reproductive rights and personal well-being.

Although the current studies show links between motherhood beliefs and potentially negative outcomes for women, the survey designs employed here do not allow for causal inferences. Future studies should explore the observed relationships both in correlational and experimental designs. For example, in reference to reproductive rights, exposure to motherhood beliefs (e.g., by "reminding" participants that society expects women to become mothers) might influence abortion attitudes both among men and women. Motherhood beliefs might also impact evaluations of women who declare that they have undergone abortions and evaluations of women who engage in risky behaviors while pregnant (cf. Sutton, Douglas, & McClellan, 2011). Motherhood beliefs might also predict opinions and support for social

policies related to other reproductive issues, such as what type of women should be eligible for fertility treatment or adoption.

Similarly, with respect to second-shift expectations, it would be interesting to investigate how exposure to motherhood beliefs leads to increased justification for the unpaid labor of women, both among the observers and women themselves. It might be conjectured that salience of motherhood beliefs (induced, e.g., through reverence for women as mothers) might raise expectations that women will not only perform household chores, but that they will also as a matter of course take care of other members of the family who need to be looked after, such as children or elderly parents. Motherhood beliefs might then, indirectly, contribute to the feminization of poverty (Deperak & Rek, 2008).

Within the broader social context, it is worth exploring how motherhood beliefs are related to evaluations of women in motherly (and non-motherly) roles in general. For instance, do people endorsing motherhood beliefs have a more radical stance of what type of women qualify as good or as bad mothers? Are they more inclusive within these categories? For example, are they more punitive toward non-traditional (e.g., single, lesbian, or divorced) mothers? Are they more restrictive in allowing men to be the main caregivers? Do motherhood beliefs influence evaluations of mothers who choose to work instead of taking maternity leave, or of women who choose not to be mothers? Finally, do motherhood beliefs contribute to the disproportionate blaming of mothers (relative to fathers) for children's misdeeds, parental failures, and parental misconduct (including infanticide as the most extreme form)? Finally, in light of the recent backlash against Council of Europe's (2011) convention on preventing domestic abuse, it would be interesting to investigate to what extent motherhood beliefs shape attitudes toward social policies concerning domestic violence.

Aesthetic Beliefs

Beauty ideals. According to feminist scholars (e.g., Brownmiller, 1984; Dworkin, 1974; Wolf, 1991), Western standards of female beauty are oppressive to women to the extent that the female body becomes an object that is evaluated based on the extent to which it conforms to these ideals. This critique is borne out by three observations. First, beauty standards have always been constructed as something unattainable for most women, yet as something they should aspire to. Second, they have always prescribed women to invest their time and resources to conform to these unattainable ideals. Finally, society has always scrutinized women's appearance with regard to whether they manage or fail to do so. Crucially, endorsement of beauty ideals has been linked to endorsement of BS and HS (Forbes et al., 2007). Previous evidence suggests also that women endorsing BS are more likely to use cosmetics (Forbes, Jung, & Haas, 2006; Franzoi, 2001), and are more likely to endorse beliefs about the thin body ideal (Forbes et al., 2007).

The aim of the current study was to verify whether endorsement of aesthetic beliefs predicts endorsement of beauty ideals over and beyond BS and HS. Participants were Polish students and working adults (N = 145, Sample 7).

Measures.

Importance of beauty. Five items, e.g., "It is more important for a woman to be pretty than be smart", "If a woman can´t do a good job of taking care of her appearance, she probably can´t be trusted to do a good job at anything else" (M = 2.72, SD = 1.06, α = .81), were selected from the importance of beauty subscale (Forbes et al., 2007).

Beauty requires effort. Four items, e.g., "A woman cannot expect to be beautiful unless she is skillful with make-up" (M = 4.15 SD = 1.44, α = .65), were selected from the beauty requires effort subscale (Forbes et al., 2007).

Participants provided their answers to these nine items on a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree.* As the correlation between the subscales was relatively low, $r(150) = .38$, $p < .001$, consistent with previous research (Forbes et al., 2007), they were analyzed as separate constructs.

Extended ASI. BS (8 items, $M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.33$, $\alpha = .85$), HS (4 items, $M = 4.05$, $SD = 1.40$, $\alpha = .78$), and aesthetic beliefs (3 items, $M = 4.41$, $SD = 1.50$, $\alpha = .80$) were assessed.

Results. Table 19 shows correlations between sexism and measures of beauty ideals. Both aesthetic beliefs and HS were moderately linked to importance attributed to beauty. In line with previous evidence (Forbes et al., 2007), the link for BS was weaker. Similarly, BS was only weakly related to the notion that beauty requires effort, as was HS. (In the Forbes et al., [2007] study, BS and beliefs that beauty requires effort were unrelated). Similar as with importance of beauty, the notion that beauty requires effort correlated at a moderate strength with aesthetic beliefs.

Table 19

Correlations between sexism and beauty ideals

	Benevolent Sexism	Aesthetic Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Importance of beauty	.23*	.58**	.55**
Beauty requires effort	.20*	.52**	.26**

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .001$

Regression analysis revealed that aesthetic beliefs predicted importance of beauty over and beyond BS (Table 20). This effect remained significant also when HS was controlled for in the equation. The share of variance in importance attributed to beauty, explained solely by aesthetic beliefs amounted to 28%. Additional analysis conducted separately for male and female participants revealed that aesthetic beliefs explained a larger

share of variance in importance attributed to beauty among male participants, $\Delta R^2 = .27$, $p < .001$ (vs. $\Delta R^2 = .14$, $p < .001$ for female participants).

Table 20

Aesthetic beliefs as a predictor of importance of beauty

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.26*	-.08	-.14†
Aesthetic Beliefs		.63**	.48**
Hostile Sexism			.35**
F	10.32*	37.70**	36.62**
ΔR^2	.07*	.28**	.09**

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
† $p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Further, regression analysis revealed that aesthetic beliefs predicted endorsement of beliefs that beauty requires effort, over and beyond BS (Table 21).

Table 21

Aesthetic beliefs as a predictor of the notion that beauty requires effort

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.23*	-.08	-.08
Aesthetic Beliefs		.56**	.57**
Hostile Sexism			-.02
F	7.81*	26.90**	17.84**
ΔR^2	.05*	.22**	.00

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Upon introducing aesthetic beliefs, the effect of BS was not significant. Again, the effect of aesthetic beliefs remained significant also when HS was controlled for in the equation, and HS did not predict the dependent variable beyond BS and aesthetic beliefs. The share of variance in the endorsement of the belief that beauty requires effort explained solely by aesthetic beliefs amounted to 22%. No differences for male and female participants were found.

***Discussion*.** As expected, participants who endorsed aesthetic beliefs were also more likely to endorse Western beauty ideals. This link was independent of the original BS and HS, attesting to the predictive validity of the newly defined dimension. Thus, although achievement of beauty standards might have an empowering aspect for some women (Lehrman, 1997), the fact that these standards are linked to sexism indicates that they are detrimental.

Though, at first glance, it might seem that the importance of beauty and aesthetic beliefs overlap conceptually, they are surely not redundant, as the former refer to particular standards rather than the universal importance of beauty (e.g., "High heels are worth a little pain and discomfort because they make a woman more attractive", "Women with small breasts should get breast augmentation surgery"), and are phrased in a more hostile way than is the aesthetic beliefs scale (e.g., "If a woman can't do a good job of taking care of her appearance, she probably can't be trusted to do a good job at anything else", "Although it is not always true, overweight women often are not very intelligent" – reverse coded).

Self-objectification. Objectification theory (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) explains how women's socialization and experiences of sexual objectification can lead to mental health problems, such as eating disorders, or depression. According to the theory, experiences of sexual objectification that women go through make them perceive themselves as "objects"

that are primarily evaluated based upon their bodily appearance (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). This internalization of the perspective of others has been termed self-objectification.

Although some researchers (Franzoi, 2001) have observed positive links between exposure to BS and sexual attractiveness self-esteem among women, other studies indicate that exposure to BS leads to increased self-objectification among women, operationalized as body surveillance and body shame (Calogero & Jost, 2011; Shepherd, Erchull, Rosner, Taubenberger, Queen, & McKee, 2011).

The aim of the study was to explore the links between endorsement of aesthetic beliefs (independent from BS and HS) and self-objectification among women. Participants were adult US women (N = 83, Sample 4).

Measures.

Body surveillance. Three items selected from the Surveillance scale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996), were used: "During the day, I think about how I look many times", "I often worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good", "I rarely worry about how I look to other people" (reverse coded) (M = 3.82, SD = 1.48, α = .73). Participants provided their answers on a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree.*

Body shame. Three items selected from the Shame scale of the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley & Hyde, 1996), were used: "I feel ashamed of myself when I haven't made the effort to look my best", "I feel like I must be a bad person when I don't look as good as I could", "Even when I can´t control my weight, I think I´m an okay person" (reverse coded) (M = 2.97, SD = 1.32, α = .70). Participants provided their answers on a scale from 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree.*

Extended ASI. BS (9 items, $M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.39$, $\alpha = .90$), HS (10 items, $M = 2.66$, $SD = 1.22$, $\alpha = .93$), and aesthetic beliefs (3 items, $M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.61$, $\alpha = .84$) were assessed.

Correlation between the scales was moderate, $r(82) = .66$, $p < .001$. Consistent with previous research on self-objectification (e.g., Calogero & Pina, 2011), both constructs were analyzed separately.

Results. Table 22 shows correlations between dimensions of sexism and self-objectification. Among the studied women, endorsement of BS and HS, as well as of aesthetic beliefs was moderately related to body shame and body surveillance.

Table 22

Correlations between sexism and self-objectification measures

	Benevolent Sexism	Aesthetic Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Body surveillance	.44**	.47**	.28**
Body shame	.41**	.46**	.46**

Note. *p <.05, **p < .001

Table 23

Aesthetic beliefs as a predictor of body surveillance among women

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.44**	.17	.18
Aesthetic Beliefs		.33†	.29
Hostile Sexism			.09
F	19.62**	11.99**	8.17**
ΔR^2	.20**	.04†	.01

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
†p < .10,*p < .05, **p < .001

Further, regression analysis indicated that, at the tendency level, aesthetic beliefs significantly predicted body surveillance over and beyond BS (Table 23). Moreover, upon introducing aesthetic beliefs into the equation in step 2, the effect of BS was not significant. The effect of aesthetic beliefs ceased to be significant, however, upon including HS in the equation.

Similarly, analysis of regression revealed that aesthetic beliefs predicted body shame among women over and beyond BS (Table 24), making the impact of BS non-significant. Again, the effect of aesthetic beliefs was not significant when controlling for HS.

Table 24

Aesthetic beliefs as a predictor of body shame among women

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.41**	.10	.13
Aesthetic Beliefs		.37*	.21
Hostile Sexism			.32*
F	16.47**	10.92**	11.01**
ΔR^2	.17**	.05*	.08*

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*p <.05, **p < .001

***Discussion*.** Results of the current study lend support to the hypothesis that women who endorse aesthetic beliefs are more likely to self-objectify: they are more likely to scrutinize their bodies and be ashamed of them. This relationship is independent from BS. Crucially, aesthetic beliefs proved to be a sounder predictor of self-objectification than the originally conceptualized BS. A possible limitation of the obtained results was that aesthetic beliefs predicted self-objectification only to the extent that they shared core assumptions

about the traits and roles proscribed for women with HS. However, previous experimental studies (Calogero & Jost, 2011) showed that exposure to BS, but not to HS, increased state self-objectification, body-surveillance, and body shame among women. Future studies should investigate whether there is a causal link between endorsement of aesthetic beliefs and self-objectification, independent of HS (and BS).

Rape myth acceptance. According to recent statistics, one in three women worldwide has experienced sexual violence in a form of battering, being coerced into sex or otherwise abused (Heise, Pitanguy, & Germain, 1994; World Health Organization, 2013). Rape has a detrimental effect both on the physical and on the mental health of the victim. This is reinforced by so-called secondary victimization, that is, blaming women for what happened to them. One of the antecedents of victim blame are rape myths, that is assumptions about what "real" rape looks like, what is typical victim and perpetrator behavior (e.g., Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Siebler, & Viki, 2009; Koepke, Eyssel, & Bohner, 2014). Examples of such beliefs include the belief that only "bad" women are raped (thus it's the woman's fault), or that all rapists are social deviants.

Previous research indicates that hostile sexists justify sexual aggression, believing in women's inferiority and men's sexual dominance. As a consequence, they minimize the importance of rape and the aggressor's responsibility (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Yamawaki et al., 2009). Benevolent sexists, on the other hand, justify sexual aggression believing that only women who "deserve" it (for example those who dress in a seductive way and thus provoke the perpetrators) get raped (Abrams et al., 2003; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006; Whatley, 2005). Although attributions of victim behavior are different, it is evident that both types of sexism justify myths related to sexual aggression.

To sum up, sexual conduct is a key domain of socially appropriate conduct for women (Abrams et al., 2003) and previous evidence traces acceptance of rape myths back to

ambivalent sexism. The aim of the current study was to explore whether aesthetic beliefs might explain acceptance of rape myths over and beyond the original dimensions of BS. Participants were US adults recruited via mTurk (N = 155, Sample 4).

Measures.

Rape myth acceptance. Ten items from the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (RMA; Burt, 1980) were used, e.g., "If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control" (M = 2.21, SD = 1.12, α = .92; scale range 1-*strongly disagree*, 7 – *strongly agree*).

Extended ASI. BS (9 items, M = 3.73, SD = 1.35, α = .90), HS (10 items, M = 2.90, SD = 1.27, α = .93), and aesthetic beliefs (3 items, M = 3.15, SD = 1.52, α = .84) were assessed.

Results. Initial analysis revealed that RMA correlated positively with all sub-dimensions of sexism: BS, $r(154) = .32$, $p < .001$, aesthetic beliefs, $r(154) = .40$, $p < .001$, and HS, $r(154) = .75$, $p < .001$.

Table 25

Aesthetic beliefs as a predictor of rape myth acceptance

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.32**	.03	-.05
Aesthetic Beliefs		.38*	.07
Hostile Sexism			.74**
F	17.63**	14.85**	65.50**
ΔR^2	.10**	.06**	.40**

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
*p <.05, **p < .001

Further, regression analysis indicated that aesthetic beliefs significantly predicted acceptance of rape myths over and beyond BS (Table 25). Upon introducing aesthetic beliefs into equation, BS ceased to be a significant predictor of RMA. However, aesthetic beliefs ceased to explain RMA when HS was included in step 3.

***Discussion*.** Results of the current study indicate that men and women who endorse aesthetic beliefs are more likely to endorse rape myths. What is noteworthy, although some myths referred directly to female appearance (e.g., "It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped", "As long as they don't go too far, sexual innuendos and catcalls simply tell a woman that she is attractive"), others refer to the appropriate conduct of victims in general (e.g., "When women are raped, it's often because the way they said 'no' was ambiguous"), and diminishing the impact of rape ("Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them").

Aesthetic beliefs proved to be a sounder predictor of RMA than the originally conceptualized BS, and independent of it. However, endorsement of aesthetic beliefs predicted belief in rape myths only to the extent that they shared core sources of ambivalence toward women with HS. This result replicates previous findings observed for BS (Glick & Fiske, 1997). However, other studies focusing on acquaintance rape (Abrams et al., 2003, Viki, Abrams, & Masser, 2004) showed that BS, but not HS, was associated with increased victim blaming. It is plausible that contextual factors not included here ultimately determine whether aesthetic beliefs would predict endorsement of rape myths independent of HS or BS, or both.

Consequences of aesthetic beliefs – Discussion

The three studies presented above underscore the role of aesthetic beliefs in evaluations of women by others and by themselves. Results indicate that women and men who endorse aesthetic beliefs are more likely to embrace Western beauty practices. Women

who endorse aesthetic beliefs are also more likely to be preoccupied with their own bodies. These results are in line with previous evidence suggesting that, although women might experience a boost in their appearance self-esteem from being exposed to BS (Bradley-Geist et al., 2015), at the same time they become more concerned with the way they look and put more efforts into enhance their appearance, neglecting competence-related domains (Breines, Crocker, & Garcia, 2008).

Women exposed to BS also reported higher levels of body surveillance and body shame (Shepherd et al., 2011). Finally, both men and women who endorse aesthetic beliefs are also more likely to hold beliefs that contribute to blaming the victim and exonerating the perpetrator of sexual abuse. Importantly, all these relationships were independent of originally conceptualized BS, and independent of HS in the case of beauty ideals. Although the relationships between aesthetic beliefs and self-objectification on the one hand and RMA on the other ceased to be significant when HS was accounted for in the analyses, previous evidence for BS (Abrams et al., 2003; Calogero & Jost, 2011) suggests that these links might be revealed only when aesthetic beliefs are made salient, or, in the case of RMA, only particular circumstances are considered. Future studies should shed light on possible moderators.

The survey data reported here provides initial evidence for negative outcomes of the ostensibly positive attitudes inscribed in aesthetic beliefs. Future studies should explore these links by employing both correlational and experimental designs, which would enable and support causal inferences. For instance, it would be worth exploring whether individuals holding aesthetic beliefs are especially likely to "reward" women who conform to the traditional notions of womanhood by following beauty practices. Can we observe a halo effect on competence (cf. Judd, James-Hawkins, Yzerbyt, & Kashima, 2005)? Or a negative effect, in line with the competence-warmth tradeoffs for women observed in previous studies

(Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004)? Would the social context be relevant? For example, aesthetic beliefs might play a greater role in the dating context than in the professional context, and in professions in which appearance is especially valued. Aesthetic beliefs could also play a vital role when appearance is made salient situationally, for example through appearance focus (vs. person focus, Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009), or through the objectifying gaze (Gervais, Vescio, & Allen, 2011).

Another interesting question within this domain concerns the causal link between exposure to aesthetic beliefs and self-esteem. In line with the appearance-based versus performance-based self-esteem differentiation (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991), it might be expected that exposure to aesthetic beliefs would boost appearance-based and decrease performance-based self-esteem. Future research could also assess the link between aesthetic beliefs and appearance-based compliments. Although appearance compliments have been found to improve mood among their recipients, they also increase body shame among women with high trait self-objectification (Tiggemann & Boundy, 2008). Are people endorsing aesthetic beliefs more likely to pay appearance-based compliments to women?

Finally, future studies could focus on the role of aesthetic beliefs in evaluations of women in high status positions. As references to appearance of women, even to those in power, seem to be ubiquitous in the media, traditional beliefs about female appearance could have a detrimental impact on chances of women, for example as work candidates, contributing to the underrepresentation of women for high-status positions.

Prospects for Change

Research on intergroup relations has usually adopted the prejudice-reduction approach to social change. According to this approach, reduction of prejudice among the high status group should lead to more harmonious cohabitation. Recently, however, some caveats of this approach have been highlighted (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010; Saguy,

Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009): although an increase in positive attitudes and positive contact between the groups fosters harmony at the societal level, it also increases perceptions that the current state of group relations is fair, fosters unrealistic expectations that the high-status group will actively engage in addressing the inequalities, and reduces the low-status group's willingness to engage in actions aimed at diminishing status inequalities. Thus, the sole focus on prejudice and prejudice reduction is insufficient to eliminate discrimination. In order to instigate social change, members of the low status group need to engage in collective action (Wright & Tropp, 2002).

This applies equally to gender relations. Despite the fact that men often hold positive attitudes toward women (e.g., Eagly & Mladinic, 1989), gender discrimination prevails in most countries, and women do not seem to be particularly willing to address it. Moreover, in spite of the notable advances in reducing systematic gender inequalities made by feminist movements in the past, the stigma related to the feminist identity (e.g., Bashir, Lockwood, Chasteen, Nadolny, & Noyes, 2013) and backlash against second and third wave feminisms (e.g. Faludi, 2009) hinders progress. Previous evidence linking ASI, perceptions of discrimination and social protest indicates that BS might be especially pernicious for women's rights, justifying discrimination and sugar-coating hostile attitudes, as frequently neither men nor women consider BS as an expression of gender discrimination (Barretto & Ellemers, 2005; Swim, Mallett, Russo-Devosa, & Stangor, 2005).

Anger and perceived injustice. According to prevalent models of social change (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; Wright, 2010), injustice perceptions and the resulting feelings of anger are key variables in instigating social protest. Women exposed to BS, however, show lower willingness to engage in collective action (Becker & Wright, 2011). This effect is mediated by perceived advantages of being a woman, gender-specific system justification and positive affect. Moreover, women

who endorse benevolent justifications for gender inequality declare higher life satisfaction (Napier, Thorisdottir, & Jost, 2010). BS thus has a "pacifying nature". The aim of the current study was to explore the links between the new and old subscales of ASI, perceptions of discrimination and personal well-being. These links were tested in a sample of US women (*N* = 145, Sample 4).

Measures.

Life satisfaction. A single item measure was used. Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 1- *not at all satisfied* to 7 – *very satisfied*, how satisfied they were with their lives in general (*M* = 6.14, *SD* = 1.35).

Perception of discrimination. A single item measure was used. Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 1- *not at all* to 7 – *very much so*, to what extent, in their opinion, the problem of discrimination affects women in the United States (*M* = 5.10, *SD* = 1.13).

Gender-specific system justification. Three items, e.g., "In general, relations between men and women are fair" (*M* = 3.59, *SD* = 1.44, α = .84), from the gender-specific version of System Justification Scale (Jost & Kay, 2005) were used. Participants provided their answers on a 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree* response scale.

Extended ASI. Full versions of BS (9 items, *M* = 3.69, *SD* = 1.33, α = .87), HS (10 items, *M* = 2.63, *SD* = 1.21, α = .92), motherhood beliefs (3 items, *M* = 3.60, *SD* = 1.65, α = .83), and aesthetic beliefs (3 items, *M* = 3.02, *SD* = 1.55, α = .87) scales were used.

Results. Table 26 shows correlations between dimensions of sexism and the measured variables. Interestingly, among the surveyed women, both the original dimensions of BS, as well as motherhood and aesthetic beliefs (but not HS), were positively linked to life satisfaction. This finding speaks for the palliative function of the original and new dimensions of BS. As suggested by previous evidence, the ostensibly positive tone of BS

enables women to derive purported benefits and satisfaction from it (Kilianski & Rudman, 1998). Further, the original and new dimensions of BS alike were positively linked to gender-specific system justification. This was also the case for HS. Thus, ambivalence of attitudes of the extended ASI contributes to the perceptions that the current state of gender relations is fair (cf. Jost & Kay, 2005). Indeed, all dimensions of sexism were negatively linked to perceptions that the problem of discrimination affects women in the United States[viii].

Table 26

Correlations between sexist attitudes, well-being and perceived discrimination among women

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Aesthetic Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Life satisfaction	.18*	.20**	.16*	.02
Gender-specific system justification	.36**	.36**	.40**	.36**
Perceptions of discrimination	-.30*	-.45**	-.32*	-.25*

Note. $*p < .05$, $**p < .001$

To sum up, women who endorsed the original dimensions of BS, as well as motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, were not only more convinced that gender relations are fair and less likely to acknowledge that the problem of discrimination affects women as a group at the societal level, but were also more satisfied with their lives in general. Although all these perceptions can be linked to well-being at a personal level, previous evidence clearly indicates that they hinder social change at a group level (e.g., Becker & Wright, 2011; van Zomeren et al., 2004, 2008). I investigate this link in the following part.

Collective action intentions. The aim of the current study was to show that women who endorse BS (and motherhood beliefs in particular) are not inactive, as previous studies would suggest (Becker & Wagner, 2009). It was predicted that women who endorsed motherhood beliefs would show greater support for collective action aimed at benefitting not women as a group, but benefitting others (particularly other family members, community, or groups perceived as needing protection; cf. "politicized motherhood", Hryciuk, 2012; Werbner, 2007), and collective action aimed at preserving traditional gender roles and gender hierarchy. These hypotheses were tested among American women (N = 79, Sample 8).

Measures.

Collective action intentions. Participants were presented with a list of 20 items concerning different groups and issues, and were asked to indicate to what extent they would be willing to support each of them via participation in political behavior, such as signing a petition, attending a protest, helping to distribute information, or donating money. Participants provided their answers on a 1 – *strongly disagree* to 7 – *strongly agree* response scale. Based on exploratory factor analysis (principal axis analysis, oblimin rotation, number of factors assessed based on eigenvalues > 1, minimum 3 items with factor loadings above .45 on the primary factor, cross-loadings < .32), the items were grouped into three factors:

Progressive collective action. Progressive collective action was assessed with 8 items: feminist movement, gender equality, rights for gay and lesbian families, women and women's rights, pro-choice movement, mentoring programs for women in leadership positions, promoting comprehensive sexual education, prevention of sexual violence (M = 5.31, SD = 1.17, α = .91).

Traditional collective action. Traditional collective action was assessed with 8 items: promoting sexual abstinence among minors, promoting American values, reducing access to pornography, recognition of inherent differences between men and women, neighborhood

watch and other community-based groups, pro-life movement, families and family values, men and men's rights (*M* = 3.95, *SD* = 1.32, α = .88).

Parental collective action. Parental collective action was assessed with 4 items: paid parental leave for mothers, paid parental leave for fathers, children and children's rights, flexible work options for working parents (*M* = 5.58, *SD* = 1.34, α = .93).

Extended ASI. Short versions of BS (5 items, *M* = 3.58, *SD* = 1.39, α = .87), and HS (5 items, *M* = 2.69, *SD* = 1.38, α = .92) were measured, together with motherhood beliefs (3 items, *M* = 3.16, *SD* = 1.55, α = .87).

***Results*.** Table 27 presents correlations between dimensions of extended ASI and collective action intentions.

Table 27

Correlations between sexism and collective action intentions

	Benevolent Sexism	Motherhood Beliefs	Hostile Sexism
Progressive CA	-.11	-.33**	-.20†
Traditional CA	.47**	.66**	.51**
Parental CA	.05	.22†	-.14

Note. CA – collective action
*$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Endorsement of the originally conceptualized BS was unrelated to willingness to engage in progressive collective action, supporting previous arguments that BS pertains more to interpersonal relationships than to attitudes toward gender equality (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Motherhood beliefs, however, were negatively linked to progressive collective action: the more female participants endorsed those beliefs, the less willing they were to actively support typical postulates of the progressive female movements[ix]. The same pattern, though only at

the tendency level, emerged for HS attitudes. At the same time, stronger endorsement of all dimensions of sexism was linked to greater willingness to engage in traditional collective action. This link was especially strong for motherhood beliefs.

Regression analysis revealed that motherhood beliefs were negatively linked to support for progressive collective action (Table 28). This effect remained significant both when controlling for BS and HS. However, an additional analysis indicated that, when controlling for another robust predictor of collective action intentions, political orientation (e.g. Hennes, Nam, Stern, & Jost, 2012), this effect became non-significant, $\beta = -.21$, $p = .193$.

Table 28

Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of progressive collective action intentions

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	-.11	.15	.15
Motherhood Beliefs		-.42*	-.41*
Hostile Sexism			-.02
F	.94	5.05*	3.32*
ΔR^2	.01	.11*	.00

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
†$p < .10$, *$p < .05$, **$p < .001$

Regression analysis revealed that motherhood beliefs predicted willingness to engage in traditional collective action over and beyond BS (Table 29). Moreover, upon introducing motherhood beliefs into equation, the effect of BS became non-significant. Motherhood beliefs remained a significant predictor of willingness to engage in collective action also when controlling for HS. The unique variance in support for traditional collective action was

twice as large as the one against progressive collective action. An additional analysis indicated that the effect of motherhood beliefs on support for traditional collective action remained significant when controlling for a robust predictor of social protest, political orientation, $\beta = .40$, $p = .003$.

Table 29

Motherhood beliefs as a predictor of traditional collective action intentions

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Benevolent Sexism	.47**	.09	.06
Motherhood Beliefs		.61**	.54**
Hostile Sexism			.13
F	20.89**	29.31**	20.08**
ΔR^2	.22**	.22**	.01

Note. Values in the table are standardized regression coefficients (βs)
**$p < .001$

Contrary to expectations, no links between motherhood beliefs and the parental CA were found after controlling for BS. This might stem from the fact that most items within this factor referred to issues relevant for working parents. Thus, participants might have supported them depending on their current parental and employment status rather than endorsed beliefs concerning gender roles. As the employment status of participants was not assessed in the study, this assumption could not have been tested empirically.

Prospects for change - Discussion

Results of two studies showed that women who endorsed motherhood and aesthetic beliefs reported experiencing greater life satisfaction and perceived that current gender relations are fair, and that discrimination does not affect women as a group. Further, the more

strongly women endorsed motherhood beliefs, the more likely they were to oppose progressive collective action, aimed at reducing gender inequalities and supporting non-traditional life choices. At the same time, greater endorsement of motherhood beliefs was linked to support for traditional collective action, aimed at preserving traditional gender roles and gender hierarchy. Thus, unlike what has been suggested by previous studies (e.g., Becker & Wagner, 2009), women who endorse traditional gender beliefs reflected in BS, particularly motherhood beliefs, are not inactive citizens (i.e., purely warm, but not agentic), but might be willing to invest their time and resources in instigating social protest in support of the values they hold. Moreover, endorsement of motherhood beliefs seems to shift the focus from advocating for women and women's rights – because these women do not acknowledge gender discrimination as a social problem – to advocating for the family and the community as a whole.

As with previous studies, only correlational links were tested here. Future studies should explore causal links and potential moderators for the observed relationships. The potential mechanisms explaining the obtained results also merit further investigation. It is likely that, consistent with previous findings linking AST to the dual process model (Christopher & Mull, 2006; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009), women who endorse motherhood beliefs act out of the status quo preservation motive inscribed in right-wing authoritarianism, while women who endorse HS act out of the hierarchy preservation motive ingrained in social dominance orientation. Similar mechanisms might explain the motives of benevolently and hostilely sexist men who, as a high-status group, might be personally interested in preserving gender hierarchy.

Another potential mechanism explaining these relationships might be rooted in interpersonal warmth, which is typically associated with traditional womanhood (e.g., Bem, 1974; Hoffman & Hurst, 1990). It is plausible that women endorsing BS, as compared to

women low in BS, might be more willing to support others, acting upon the prescriptive norm of female warmth. This would be in line with previous research showing that collective action on behalf of others is triggered by perspective taking and empathy, rather than feelings of group-based efficacy (e.g., Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008). Motherhood beliefs seem especially interesting in this regard, due to the self-sacrificing notion (i.e., women are not only supposed to think about others, but to put the needs of others first), and child-orientation (i.e. women endorsing motherhood beliefs could be especially prone to "protect" children and, potentially, other groups considered as high in warmth and low in competence, cf. Cuddy et al., 2007, thus needing care and protection), inscribed in them.

Future studies could also focus on the perspective of men and their willingness to support progressive and traditional collective action depending on their endorsement of BS and HS. It is plausible that, similar to women who endorse BS, men high in benevolent attitudes are less likely to perceive discrimination. If gender discrimination is not a "problem", they might claim that the male privilege does not exist either, thus, they should be less likely to experience group-based guilt and be motivated to help women (cf. Mallett et al., 2008).

Chapter IV

General Discussion

The aim of the current thesis was to conceptualize AST more broadly, by defining new dimensions of sexism referring to beliefs about motherhood and aesthetics. The eight quantitative studies, preceded by the qualitative stage, presented here develop and validate a theoretical model expanding upon AST. In these studies, I showed the relevance of two newly proposed dimensions across different domains and in diversified samples from two cultural contexts, and provided a tool for identifying a wider range of benevolent forms of sexism.

Adding to the growing body of literature on covert forms of prejudice, the current studies provide strong empirical support for the theoretical assumption that motherhood beliefs and aesthetic beliefs can be considered as part of ambivalent sexism. Similar to the previously identified dimensions of BS, they are positive in tone and grant women certain privileges and rewards. However, like the previously identified dimensions, they might be detrimental for women and contribute to justifications of existing gender inequalities.

The studies shed light on the damaging side-effects of motherhood and aesthetic beliefs. Results indicate that the new dimensions are of substantial importance for the everyday lives of women, to the extent that they predict attitudes across different social domains, and contribute to justification of biological and social bases for gender hierarchy.

Motherhood beliefs helped explain abortion attitudes, such that endorsement of motherhood was linked to lower admissibility of abortion as a woman's choice (even when controlling for a participant's conservatism and religiosity). Motherhood beliefs were also linked to acquiescence that a woman should sacrifice her psychological and physical well-being to stay in a relationship that was not satisfactory to her, for the sake of the well-being of her children. Further, results indicate that people hold similar expectations from men and

women in the working context, but expect more—in terms of household chores and child care—from an ideal woman than from an ideal man in the domestic domain, and that these expectations are moderated by motherhood beliefs: the more strongly participants believed in the importance of motherhood, the more they assumed an ideal woman should devote more time to unpaid work than should an ideal man.

Data gathered so far indicate that endorsing beliefs concerning women's aesthetic prescriptions was positively linked to measures of beauty ideals: the importance attributed to women's beauty, and expectations that beauty cannot be achieved without effort (Forbes et al., 2007). Women who endorsed aesthetic beliefs were also more likely to self-objectify: attribute greater importance to external beauty and scrutinize their bodies. Finally, both men and women endorsing aesthetic beliefs were also more likely to blame victims of the sexual assault.

Finally, results indicate that women who endorse motherhood and aesthetic beliefs are less likely to acknowledge that gender discrimination is a social problem, more likely to claim that gender relations are fair, and are more satisfied with their lives in general. Thus, like the original BS dimensions (Napier et al., 2010), endorsement of both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs by women can serve a palliative function at the individual level, but be detrimental to the group as a whole. Especially, since women who endorse motherhood beliefs are also more likely to support actions aimed at preserving gender inequality and traditional gender roles.

Apart from showing predictive validity of the proposed dimensions, this part of the thesis offers a novel theoretical contribution, creating a nexus between endorsement of traditional gender beliefs, and collective action intentions. The widely cited definition of collective action (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990) states that "a group member engages in collective action any time that he or she is *acting as a representative of the group* and

where the action is *directed at improving the conditions of the group as a whole*" (emphasis in original, p. 995). Although this definition is very broad and applies to multiple groups, collective action researchers usually implicitly assume that protest aims at introducing social change and is thus associated with liberal movements (cf. Levenson & Miller, 1976). For instance, established theoretical models explaining collective action (e.g., dual pathway models; Stürmer & Simon, 2004; van Zomeren et al., 2004) have focused mainly on progressive collective action (defined as reducing social inequality) in response to collective disadvantage. Thus, little is known yet about collective action among people holding traditional attitudes. Current studies extend existing knowledge on collective action in support of the system (e.g., Cameron & Nickerson, 2009; Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith, 2009; Jost, Chaikalis-Petritsis, Abrams, Sidanius, van der Toorn, & Bratt, 2012; Jost et al., 2003; Wakslak, Jost, Tyler, & Chen, 2007).

Overlaps of the New and the Original Dimensions

The newly proposed dimensions of sexism fit in with the conceptualization of the original AST. As Glick and Fiske (1996, 1997, 2001) argue, ambivalent sexism stems from the interdependence between the genders and is expressed on three dimensions: power, gender differentiation, and sexuality (particularly, sexual reproduction).[x] Motherhood beliefs align with the power dimension (women gain status providing off-spring to men who are expected to support them; mothers wield power in the domestic realm), heterosexuality (traditionally women become mothers when in heterosexual relationships), as well as with gender differentiation (as only women can be mothers). Similarly, aesthetic beliefs are partly rooted in social power (cf. beauty as woman's status, Forbes et al., 2006; men's desire for attractive partners is related to a dominance-based motives; Sibley & Overall, 2011), heterosexuality (women please men with their appearance), as well as in gender differentiation (in line with the division that women are "ornamental", men instrumental).

Furthermore, the newly proposed dimensions fill some of the important gaps in the way the original ASI is operationalized. Although Glick and Fiske (1996) acknowledge that BS stems from "the dyadic dependency of men on women (as romantic objects, as wives and mothers)" (p. 493), the items in the HI subscale focus on women as romantic partners or wives only, and no direct reference to mothers is made. Similarly, as previously indicated (Unger, 1979), historically, women have achieved social power through two processes: personal relationships with men – as sexual partners, wives, mothers, daughters, sisters – which is encapsulated partly in the paternalism and heterosexuality dimensions, or through their beauty. It has been also hypothesized that beauty as a route for gaining social power might be especially appealing to women high in BS (Franzoi, 2001). Again, however, no reference is made to this aspect of womanhood in the original ASI. The newly proposed motherhood and aesthetic beliefs subscales address these shortcomings. At the same time, as evidenced in Chapter III, they constitute new dimensions, distinct from those originally measured in ASI.

Universality of the New Dimensions

Expressions of sexism have been affected by changing norms over time (e.g., McHugh & Frieze, 1997). These expressions are also affected by changing contexts (Pateman, 1989; Walby, 2005): for example, people are more egalitarian in the employment (public) domain than in the social (private) domain (Anderson & Johnson, 2003). Sexism can also be affected by cultural norms, which determine not only how it manifests, but also the underlying beliefs that drive sexist attitudes and behavior (House et al., 2004). I propose that the two new aspects of sexism outlined above help explain the stability of gender inequality despite changing external circumstances. I submit that they are not only relevant in Polish and American societies, where data were collected, but that beliefs about motherhood and aesthetics are important elements of gender relations in other countries as well.

Concepts related to the motherhood prescription appear global, derived from the fact that mothers are considered primary child-rearing agents across cultures and species (Mariko, 1989; Mealy et al., 2006). Motherhood has been celebrated in various cultures over centuries, indicating its near-universal significance (Cusack & Bhreathnach-Lynch, 2003; Yuval-Davis, 1997). This celebration is accompanied by the so-called motherhood mandate—the notion of motherhood as a chief prescription in a woman´s life (Russo, 1976). Even contemporary notions of motherhood (as opposed to "old" ones, from the times of the industrial revolution, when motherhood was considered a woman's destiny) are based on the assumption that mothers are unique and irreplaceable as ideal parents (Mezey & Pillard, 2012).

Similarly, self-sacrifice is observed in gender roles across cultures. For example, an attitude of self-sacrifice and "competence without complaint" are aspects of gender role internalization among Chinese women (Tang & Tang, 2001). Similar notions of "sanctified motherhood" as reflected in marianismo and a self-sacrificing woman syndrome (Hryciuk, 2012; Lara-Cantú, 1989; Mealy et al., 2006; Stevens, 1973) appear in Latina/o cultures. Women who endorse marianismo work outside the home to support their families, but are unlikely to prioritize career over family. Such idealization of mothers, granting them a sense of moral superiority, and providing plentiful social rewards, has as its implication a resignation from the pursuit of status outside the home.

Beauty is seen as a signal of reproductive potential, both in men and women (Buss & Schmitt, 1993; Jackson, 1992). In this respect, beauty standards are universal in the human species. At the same time, evidence indicates that cultural differences (e.g., Sorokowski & Butovskaya, 2012), individual differences (Swami et al. 2010; Swami & Tovee, 2013a), and situational factors (Swami & Tovee, 2013b) can affect attractiveness ratings. Therefore, the aim of the proposed scale was to tap into the generic notion of the importance of aesthetics to

womanhood (Jeffreys, 2005; Wolf, 1991), without defining what particular traits or practices it denotes.

"Problems" with Complementary Gender Differentiation

Results of the current studies suggest that, of the original subscales of ASI, the CGD subscale in particular might not tap into BS in the Polish context. Thus, the particular social roles that men and women play, and so the attributes they are ascribed, though likely to be complementary, might depend on the specifics of the cultural, religious, or historical backdrop. CGD as measured by the ASI presumes that men possess mainly agentic traits, which are complemented by women's communal, expressive traits (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In Poland, women are not considered as purely communal (Titkow, 2007; Titkow & Domański, 1995). As outlined above, historical circumstances that forced women to fulfill non-traditional roles and unique stereotypes that evolved as a result of these circumstances, have led to a cultural belief in women's competence and ability. Future studies should establish whether this subscale has satisfactory properties in other countries or, as some theoretical arguments put forward in the past would suggest (Chia et al., 1997; Gajewska & Lisek, 2012), it might tap into beliefs that are not as widely popular.

Limitations

Although the data analyzed in the current project come from several fairly large and diverse samples, they were collected only in two cultural contexts. It is possible that the new dimensions of sexism will not have the same significance everywhere. Reverence for mothers might be especially important in cultures where family is important (Mealy et al., 2006), such as collectivist cultures (Triandis et al., 1988). In these same cultures, where group goals are paramount, the notion of female self-sacrifice might be of greater value. The burden of beauty placed upon women appears to be common among various cultures (e.g. Forbes et al.,

2007), but might be affected by women's opportunities to achieve high status through other means, such as through professional achievement (cf. Webster & Driskell, 1983). Aesthetic prescriptions for women have remained in play despite women's economic progress over the years (Jeffreys, 2005), and appearance does play a role in professional advancement (Lake et al., 2013). However, the degree to which appearance is a woman's main asset has shifted and can be expected to shift further.

Additionally, it should be verified how social class and other status characteristics might intersect with gender to dictate how women are perceived and treated (Glauber, 2007; Settles, Pratt-Hyatt, & Buchanan, 2008; Walker & Barton, 2013). Motherhood and aesthetic beliefs could be quite differently construed among working class women. For example, not all women have a choice whether to stay at home or to work when they become mothers; this will necessarily affect how women who are and are not employed are perceived (e.g., Gorman & Fritzsche, 2002; Okimoto & Heilman, 2012). Moreover, where good parenting requires a woman's constant presence, women might be reluctant to become pregnant for fear of losing income (Charkiewicz, 2009; Hays, 1996; Urbańska, 2012). Finally, in contexts where childcare is not readily available outside the home, attaching an ideology to the role of mother can inhibit social policy change that would allow more mothers to work, i.e., through development of government-run childcare services (Heinen & Wator, 2006; Orloff, 2009).

For these reasons, I remain cautious about the extent to which these new dimensions, developed with Polish samples and validated in Polish and American samples, will be useful for other cultural and socio-economic contexts, and over time. The adequacy of motherhood and aesthetic beliefs to other contexts and their predictive power needs to be empirically tested before claims on their universality can be made.

Future Directions

The expansion of the concept of sexism discussed in this chapter is part of a progression toward a more exhaustive conceptualization of gender attitudes that lead to inequality. There are a number of avenues to consider for future research. First and foremost, as indicated above, the validity of the extended ASI should be verified in samples from other countries, and in samples from different social and economic backgrounds.

Further, no studies so far, to my knowledge, have compared endorsement of BS and HS among heterosexual and non-heterosexual individuals. Such comparisons could help establish to what extent women and men endorse particular gender beliefs because they are strategic in heterosexual relationships (e.g., de Lemus, Moya, & Glick, 2010; Lee, Fiske, Glick, & Chen, 2010; Travaglia, Overall, & Sibley, 2009), and to what extent they are by-products of the prevailing gender norms. Previous evidence suggests that, similar to heterosexual women, lesbian and bisexual women are affected by the dominant (heterosexual) culture's beauty mandates (Myers, Taub, Morris, & Rothblum, 1999), internalize societal standards of weight and appearance (Heffernan, 1999), and face shifting standards in terms of beauty norms from male and female partners (Taub, 1999). At the same, time there is evidence suggesting that lesbian women construe the motherly role differently than heterosexual women do (Mizielińska, 2012), and are perceived as less "appropriate" mothers than heterosexual women are (DiLapi, 1989).

Future studies should go beyond correlational evidence and employ experimental designs that would allow us to establish causal links and boundary conditions for the observed relationships, pertaining to the contextual and situational cues. The notions that women should be cherished as mothers, or that women are "the fairer sex" can certainly be perceived as an appreciation of female traits and talents. At the same time, women who do not conform to gender roles ingrained in the new dimensions – such as "bad" mothers who

neglect their children for the sake of their careers, women who decide not to become mothers, immodest/vain women who use their looks to gain personal rewards, or women who fail to follow standard beauty practices – can be expected to be met with hostility. It is also plausible that motherhood and aesthetic beliefs have an impact on judgments of women only under certain conditions, for example when the motherhood role of a woman or her appearance are made salient. Experimental studies should verify these links.

Future studies should also take a step further and assess ambivalent behaviors. Although a lot of attention in the literature has been devoted to the measurement of attitudes, only a few studies have focused on actual behaviors initiated by people holding benevolently and hostilely sexist attitudes and the reactions to women and men who display BS and HS behavior (e.g., Oliveira Laux, Ksenofontov, & Becker, 2015; Rudman & Glick, 2008; Swim & Hyers, 2009). Outside of laboratory settings, women face hostilely sexist behaviors on an everyday basis (e.g., "Everyday Sexism Project", 2013; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Previous research using the diary method indicates that the same holds true for benevolently sexist behaviors (Becker & Swim, 2011). Although benevolently sexist behaviors have been shown to trigger positive reactions in women (King, Botsford, Hebl, Kazama, Dawson, & Perkins, 2012), BS attitudes lead to discriminatory behaviors toward women in non-traditional roles (Hebl, King, Glick, Singletry, & Kazama, 2007; King et al, 2012). Future studies should verify whether these effects generalize to beliefs and behaviors related to motherhood and aesthetics.

Having understood these mechanisms, more applied studies could model interventions aimed at increasing gender equality. As indicated above, this could be done via two routes: attitude change and collective action. One possible solution to change people's attitudes is to educate them. Previous evidence suggests that, when confronted with a form of group-based discrimination not commonly defined as such, people rarely perceive it to be unjust, unless

they are made aware of it (Iyer, Jetten, Branscombe, Jackson, & Youngberg, 2014). Similarly, women encouraged to pay attention to incidents of sexism in their everyday lives endorse BS less, considering men enacting BS behaviors as less attractive (Becker & Swim, 2011). Finally, the acceptance of BS diminishes among both men and women when they are educated on its perniciousness (Becker & Swim, 2012). It seems, therefore, that educational programs informing about the prevalence and perniciousness of the originally (and the newly proposed) dimensions have the potential of convincing men and women to change their beliefs. Studies employing longitudinal designs are needed, however, to test the short- and long-term effectiveness of such interventions.

Gender equality can be also fostered through collective action. Although previous studies suggest that, in line with the stereotypical notions of femininity, women endorsing traditional beliefs are passive (Becker & Wagner, 2009), data presented here show that women endorsing motherhood beliefs are willing to engage in certain forms of collective action. Future interventions could aim at channeling their engagement into support for women's causes not necessarily framed as progressive, yet still relevant to many women. For example, women endorsing motherhood beliefs might be willing to support policies facilitating reconciliation of work and childcare responsibilities of women, such as increasing access to preschools and childcare, or providing facilities for mothers to breastfeed at work. They might also be willing to support issues affecting all women regardless of their worldview, such as support for rape and incest victims, support for battered women, preventions of sexual exploitation, or raising awareness and prevention of breast and cervical cancer.

Researchers could also think of the ways of engaging men. Previous studies show that members of high-status groups are more willing to provide compensation to historically disadvantaged groups when they feel relatively advantaged (and feel guilt or anger as a result

of that; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006). Additionally, previous studies from the gender domain (Iyer & Ryan, 2009) indicate that some men are more willing to support women's rights in the workplace when they perceive gender inequality as pervasive and when they feel sympathy for the victims. It seems then that by making men realize their privilege, by presenting gender inequality as too widespread to be ignored, and, potentially, by highlighting benefits men can gain from social change, women can gain powerful allies supporting their rights and gender equality. Future studies should establish the best strategies of convincing men to become such allies.

Conclusions

In this thesis, I have presented a broader view of sexism, encompassing dimensions along which women are judged that have an impact on their everyday lives as well as their long-term goal pursuits and outcomes. I believe that incorporating these two dimensions, motherhood and aesthetic beliefs, into research on gender inequality will allow for more nuanced and accurate portraits of sexism to be uncovered.

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Appendix

Table A

Primary factor loadings obtained in the exploratory factor analysis

Factor	Item wording	FL
Hostile Sexism I (Factor 1)	Pod pretekstem równouprawnienia wiele kobiet zabiega o specjalne przywileje, takie jak faworyzująca polityka zatrudnienia.	.63
	Kiedy kobiety przegrywają z mężczyznami w uczciwej rywalizacji, zwykle narzekają, że są dyskryminowane.	.62
	Kobiety żądają od mężczyzn adorowania, ale bez żadnych poświęceń ze swojej strony.	.60
	Przejmując kontrolę nad mężczyznami, kobiety dążą do zdobycia władzy.	.59
	Kobieta jest miła dla mężczyzny tylko wtedy, kiedy czegoś od niego chce.	.59
	Kobietom w awansie bardziej pomaga uroda niż fachowa wiedza.	.58
	Feministki dążą do tego, by kobiety miały większą władzę niż mężczyźni.	.55
	Feministki stawiają nierozsądne żądania wobec mężczyzn.	.55
	Kobietom jest łatwiej, ponieważ zatwsze w pobliżu jest mężczyzna, który im pomoże.	.54
	Z chwilą, gdy kobieta zdobędzie mężczyznę, zazwyczaj próbuje trzymać go „krótko".	.54
	Wielu kobietom sprawia frajdę gdy drażnią mężczyzn udając, że są dostępne seksualnie, a następnie odrzucając męskie zaloty.	.53
	Większość kobiet interpretuje niewinne uwagi lub zachowania jako seksistowskie.	.52
Complementary Gender Differentiation (Factor 2)	W porównaniu z mężczyznami, kobiety wydają się mieć większą wrażliwość moralną.	.76
	Wiele kobiet charakteryzuje się czystością moralną, rzadko spotykaną u mężczyzn.	.69
	Kobiety są bardziej wrażliwe na ludzką krzywdę niż mężczyźni.	.61
	W porównaniu do mężczyzn kobiety mają bardziej wyrafinowany gust i poczucie dobrego smaku.	.47
Motherhood Beliefs (Factor 3)	Wychowanie dziecka to najważniejsza droga do spełnienia dla kobiety.	.79
	Najważniejszą rolą kobiety jest bycie matką.	.78
	Kobiety powinny przedkładać życie rodzinne nad zawodowe.	.63
	Kobieta nie powinna poświęcać się karierze, jeśli mogą na tym ucierpieć jej dzieci.	.59
	Potrzeby męża i dzieci powinny być dla kobiety ważniejsze niż własne.	.51
Aesthetic Beliefs (Factor 4)	Zadbany dom to najlepsza wizytówka kobiety.	.75
	Kobieta nie powinna dopuszczać, by jej mężczyzna wychodził z domu zaniedbany.	.63
	Bycie schludną i zadbaną to esencja kobiecości.	.59
	Kobieta musi pamiętać o tym, że jest ozdobą swojego partnera.	.59

	Prawdziwa kobieta powinna być zadbana w każdej sytuacji.	.52
Heterosexual Intimacy (Factor 5)	Bez względu na swoje osiągnięcia zawodowe, mężczyzna nie jest całością bez miłości kobiety.	.77
	Mężczyzna nie jest całością bez kobiety.	.75
	Każdy mężczyzna powinien mieć partnerkę, którą adoruje.	.58
	Ludzie nie są naprawdę szczęśliwi, jeśli nie są w związku uczuciowym z osobą przeciwnej płci.	.58
Protective Paternalism (Factor 6)	Kobiety powinny być wielbione i chronione przez mężczyzn.	.71
	Dobra żona powinna być stawiana na piedestale przez swojego męża.	.59
	Mężczyzna powinien być gotowy poświęcić własne dobro, by zapewnić utrzymanie bliskim kobietom.	.59
	W razie katastrofy, najpierw należy ratować kobiety, potem mężczyzn.	.42
Hostile Sexism II (Factor 7)	Kobiety często zamieniają błahostkę w wielki problem.	.66
	Kobiety stale podkreślają jak bardzo się dla wszystkich poświęcają.	.65
	Kobiety zbyt łatwo się obrażają.	.64
	Kobiety wyolbrzymiają problemy, które mają w pracy.	.62
	Pod pretekstem pomocy, kobiety wtrącają się w intymne sprawy innych ludzi.	.60
	Większość kobiet nie docenia w pełni tego, co robią dla nich mężczyźni.	.60
	Kobiety często mają żal do innych, że brakuje im czasu dla siebie.	.53
	Matki lubią mieć całą rodzinę pod nadzorem.	.43
Resourcefulness (Factor 8)	Kiedy sytuacja tego wymaga, kobiety szybko podejmują decyzję.	.64
	Kobiety potrafią zachować trzeźwe spojrzenie na sprawy.	.63
	Kobieta znajdzie sposób na załatwienie nawet beznadziejnych spraw.	.54
	Kobiety dobrze sprawdzają się na stanowiskach kierowniczych.	.52

Table B
Factor Loadings for the extended ASI scale (PL)

	b	*SE*	*C.R.*	β
Benevolent Sexism				
Protective Paternalism	**1.195**	**.074**	**16.184**	**.91**
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	-	-	-	.69
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	.947	.065	14.574	.69
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	1.102	.069	16.019	.78
Heterosexual Intimacy	**1.532**	**.081**	**18.836**	**.83**
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	.737	.042	17.484	.66
Men are complete without women.	-	-	-	.85
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	1.020	.041	24.725	.88
Complementary Gender Differentiation	**.557**	**.062**	**8.956**	**.54**
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	-	-	-	.57
Women are more sensitive to human suffering than men are.	1.217	.110	11.107	.71
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	1.287	.115	11.166	.76
Motherhood Beliefs	**1.293**	**.077**	**16.786**	**.74**
Child-rearing is a woman's most important path to fulfillment.	.932	.041	22.809	.85
A woman shouldn't devote herself to her career if her children might suffer.	.665	.043	15.537	.61
A woman's most important role is that of a mother.	-	-	-	.88
Aesthetic Beliefs	**.962**	**.071**	**13.553**	**.78**
A real woman always looks impeccable.	1.366	.090	15.159	.81
Being neat and well-groomed is the essence of femininity.	1.186	.080	14.877	.78
A woman should not allow her man to go out unkempt.	-	-	-	.65
Hostile Sexism				
Women are only nice to men when they want something.	.908	.067	13.556	.62
Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others.	.899	.066	13.648	.62
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	.929	.069	13.470	.61
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	1.008	.067	15.021	.69
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	.936	.066	14.230	.65
Looks are more helpful than know-how for women's career advancement.	.826	.066	12.486	.56
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	1.142	.072	15.796	.73
Women demand that men worship them, without making any sacrifices themselves.	-	-	-	.68
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	.866	.068	12.768	.58
Women use the guise of being helpful to get in other people's personal business.	.834	.066	12.559	.57
Benevolent – Hostile Sexism (covariance)	**.754**	**.062**	**12.119**	**.62**

Note. All regressions weights shown in table are significant ($p < .001$)

Table C
Factor Loadings for the extended ASI scale (US)

	b	*SE*	*C.R.*	β
Benevolent Sexism				
Protective Paternalism	**1.285**	**.095**	**13.458**	**.85**
Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	-	-	-	.79
A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	1.075	.068	15.806	.85
Women should be cherished and protected by men.	.936	.063	14.977	.81
Heterosexual Intimacy	**1.056**	**.096**	**11.005**	**.90**
Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	1.304	.110	11.835	.85
Men are complete without women.	-	-	-	.63
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	1.383	.116	11.921	.86
Complementary Gender Differentiation	**.940**	**.086**	**10.964**	**.71**
Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	-	-	-	.79
Women are more sensitive to human suffering than men are.	1.004	.076	13.269	.77
Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	1.062	.076	14.012	.82
Motherhood Beliefs	**1.284**	**.099**	**13.002**	**.78**
Child-rearing is a woman's most important path to fulfillment.	.986	.055	17.896	.85
A woman shouldn't devote herself to her career if her children might suffer.	.714	.058	12.350	.65
A woman's most important role is that of a mother.	-	-	-	.89
Aesthetic Beliefs	**1.269**	**.086**	**14.844**	**.94**
A real woman always looks impeccable.	.963	.065	14.701	.79
Being neat and well-groomed is the essence of femininity.	1.128	.074	15.233	.81
A woman should not allow her man to go out unkempt.	-	-	-	.79
Hostile Sexism				
Women are only nice to men when they want something.	.965	.060	16.155	.80
Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others.	.972	.066	14.817	.75
Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	1.144	.069	16.557	.82
Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	1.014	.072	14.000	.72
Women exaggerate problems they have at work.	1.137	.068	16.757	.83
Looks are more helpful than know-how for women's career advancement.	.614	.077	7.920	.44
Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	1.167	.068	17.239	.84
Women demand that men worship them, without making any sacrifices themselves.	-	-	-	.80
When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	1.096	.066	16.572	.82
Women use the guise of being helpful to get in other people's personal business.	1.085	.068	15.977	.80
Benevolent – Hostile Sexism (correlation)	**.677**	**.073**	**9.272**	**.56**

Note. All regressions weights shown in table are significant ($p < .001$)

Table D

The extended ASI scale

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement on a scale from 1 – disagree strongly to 7 – agree strongly

	Subscale	Item wording PL	Item wording US
1	HI	*Każdy mężczyzna powinien mieć partnerkę, którą adoruje.*	*Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.*
2	M	Wychowywanie dzieci daje kobiecie największe poczucie spełnienia.	Child-rearing is a woman's most important path to fulfillment.
3	HI	*Mężczyzna nie jest całością bez kobiety.*	*Men are complete without women.*
4	HS	*Kobiety są miłe dla mężczyzn tylko wówczas, gdy czegoś od nich chcą.*	*Women are only nice to men when they want something.*
5	HS	Kobiety zatwsze podkreślają, jak bardzo poświęcają się dla innych.	Women are always underlining how much they sacrifice for others.
6	HS	*Z chwilą, gdy kobieta zdobędzie już mężczyznę, zazwyczaj próbuje trzymać go „krótko".*	*Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.*
7	PP	*Mężczyzna powinien być gotowy poświęcić własne dobro, by zapewnić utrzymanie bliskim kobietom.*	*Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.*
8	HI	*Bez względu na swoje osiągnięcia zawodowe, mężczyzna nie jest całością bez miłości kobiety.*	*No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.*
9	M	Kobieta nie powinna poświęcać się karierze, jeżeli z tego powodu mogłyby ucierpieć jej dzieci.	A woman shouldn't devote herself to her career if her children might suffer.
10	HS	*Większość kobiet nie docenia w pełni tego, co robią dla nich mężczyźni.*	*Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.*
11	PP	*Dobra żona powinna być stawiana na piedestale przez swojego męża.*	*A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.*
12	HS	*Kobiety wyolbrzymiają problemy, które mają w pracy.*	*Women exaggerate problems they have at work.*
13	HS	Kobietom w awansie bardziej pomaga uroda niż fachowa wiedza.	Looks are more helpful than know-how for women's career advancement.
14	HS	*Przejmując kontrolę nad mężczyznami, kobiety dążą do zdobycia władzy.*	*Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.*
15	PP	*Kobiety powinny być wielbione i chronione przez mężczyzn.*	*Women should be cherished and protected by men.*
16	HS	Kobiety domagają się od mężczyzn adoracji, ale same nie są skłonne do poświęceń.	Women demand that men worship them, without making any sacrifices themselves.
17	CGD	*W porównaniu z mężczyznami,*	*Women, as compared to men, tend to*

		kobiety mają bardziej wyrafinowany gust i poczucie dobrego smaku.	*have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.*
18	HS	*Kiedy kobiety przegrywają z mężczyznami w uczciwej rywalizacji zwykle narzekają, że są dyskryminowane.*	*When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.*
19	Ae	Prawdziwa kobieta zawsze wygląda nienagannie.	A real woman always looks impeccable.
20	Ae	Kwintesencją kobiecości jest schludny i zadbany wygląd.	Being neat and well-groomed is the essence of femininity.
21	Ae	Kobieta nie powinna dopuścić do tego, aby jej mężczyzna wyglądał na zaniedbanego.	A woman should not allow her man to go out unkempt.
22	HS	Kobiety wtrącają się w prywatne sprawy innych, pod pretekstem pomocy.	Women use the guise of being helpful to get in other people's personal business.
23	CGD	Kobiety są bardziej wrażliwe na cierpienie innych niż mężczyźni.	Women are more sensitive to human suffering than men are.
24	M	Najważniejszą rolą kobiety jest bycie matką.	A woman's most important role is that of a mother.
25	CGD	*W porównaniu z mężczyznami kobiety wydają się mieć większą wrażliwość moralną.*	*Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.*

Note. PP - protective paternalism, HI - heterosexual intimacy, CGD - complementary gender differentiation, M - motherhood beliefs, Ae - aesthetic beliefs, HS - hostile sexism; Items in italics are adapted from Glick & Fiske (1996);

Footnotes

[i] Although the author has access to two of the listed datasets, low sample size (Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014), and a short, 10-item version of the ASI used (Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2015), render confirmatory factor analysis impossible in both cases.

[ii] Given that the survey included all 22 items from the original ASI, it allowed me to test the factor structure of the model proposed by Glick & Fiske (1996) on a fairly large and heterogeneous sample. Results indicated that, although factor loadings were reasonably high for PP (.95 among women/ 1.00 among men) and HI (.80 among women/ .71 among men) subscales, factor loading for CGD (.54 among women/ .32 among men) was substantially lower. This was especially problematic among men. What is more, model fit indices for the model were below the cut-off values (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Yu, 2002): $X^2 = 604.965$, $df = 227$, CFI = .898, RMSEA = .049 among women, and $X^2 = 463.096$, $df = 227$, CFI = .920, RMSEA = .046 among men. This indicates that the original model did not fit the data well.

[iii] Although the proponents of more conservative approaches to scale development (usually applied to diagnostic scales) might be critical of the scope of the introduced changes, similar adjustments are common practice in the usage of research scales (e.g., Becker, Tausch, Spears, & Christ, 2011; Leach et al., 2008). Similarly, in the previous studies assessing ambivalent sexism, the original 22-item ASI scale would be often truncated to 10 items or fewer (e.g., Huang et al., 2014; Osborne & Davies, 2012; Sibley & Wilson, 2004) and, in some cases, the original items would be replaced (e.g., Becker & Wagner, 2009).

To ensure that the truncated subscales measure corresponding constructs adequately, the retained items were chosen based on sound statistical criteria (e.g. subscale reliability and factor loadings in the CFA for the original ASI – see footnote ii). The correlations between BS and HS in the truncated forms were similar to those between BS and HS in the original ASI (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2015), and the correlations between the truncated and the original subscales were high.

The scope of the introduced changes was slightly greater in the HS subscale (as 5 out of 11 original items have been replaced) than in the BS subscale (3 out of 11 original items have been replaced). However, unlike for BS, the proposed model assumes that all items load on one hostile factor. Previous studies conducted both on American and Polish samples (e.g. Glick & Fiske, 1996; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014; Pietrzak & Mikołajczak, 2015) consistently show that the reliability of the HS subscale is extremely high.

[iv] Additionally, in order to verify the discriminant validity of the newly proposed dimensions, models assuming that aesthetic beliefs and/or motherhood beliefs are part of HS, not BS, were tested. Thus, three additional alternative models were tested in each country: the one in which aesthetic beliefs were included as part of HS, the one in which motherhood beliefs were included as part of HS, and the one in which both motherhood and aesthetic beliefs were included as part of HS. Again, none of these models showed a better fit than the preferred model, as evidenced by AIC values.

[v] Participants invited to the survey were displayed a random version of the questionnaire (each version had the same probability of being displayed). Differences in sample size for each group result from the fact that not all participants accepted the invitation and filled out the survey.

[vi] As participants evaluated the target person on different dependent variables in the working domain than in the domestic domain, it was impossible to analyze the data in a single 2 x 2 analysis.

[vii] The study included two items measuring CGD. As the correlation between the two items was fairly low, $r(99) = .30$, $p = .002$, and no significant link between CGD and the DVs was found, it was not reported in the analyses.

[viii] Unlike in the previous analyses, which concerned attitudes toward specific issues and policies, the aim of the following analysis was not to show the unique contribution of the newly proposed dimensions in explaining the related variables, but to explore the relationships between them. For this reason, only results of simple correlations are presented here.

[ix] Motherhood beliefs were negatively related to all items within the factor, except for "gender equality" and "prevention of sexual violence", suggesting that women who endorse motherhood beliefs are particularly concerned about preserving traditional gender roles, but not necessarily gender hierarchy.

[x] Although the original dimensions of ASI are meant to address one of these sources of ambivalent attitudes each, they fail to make clear-cut distinction between them. For instance, all dimensions, to some extent, refer to power: women often wield dyadic power in sexual relationships with men (Stockard & Johnson, 1992), and differentiation into male competence and female warmth justifies differences in status (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). Similarly, it can be argued that all dimensions refer to gender differentiation: women are expected to be low in power and subservient in relationships with men, men are expected to be dominant and caring in heterosexual relationships.